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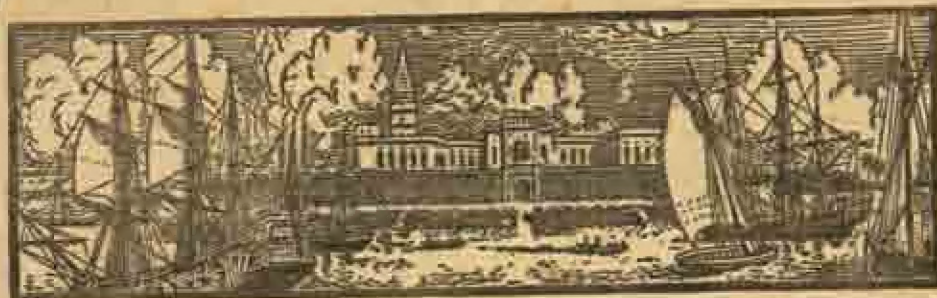
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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Price Rs. 10/- a copy.

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Padre Maestro Fray Seb. Manrique in Bengal (1628-Sept. 11, 1629).



CHAPTER V.

HOW THE RELIGIOUS OF ST. AUGUSTIN MADE THEIR ENTRANCE INTO THE KINGDOMS OF BENGALA.

IF of old the countries of Latium rejoiced at the return of their laurelled P. 16, Col. 1.
Caesars, with how much more reason did the Banks of the Ganges exult over the ingress of the brilliant rays of that heavenly sun of the Church, my great Father Augustin. Indeed, if those came home to enrich their country with the spoils of their enemies, the arrival of these would despoil the common enemy of mankind and fecundate and fertilize the arid, sterile soil of that gentility.

When the ministers of the Gospel set foot ashore, both the Portuguese and the Moors, and the natives of the country received them with much propriety, though from different motives. The Christians received them with that genuine love which they owe to their ghostly Fathers, whereas the Pagans welcomed them with a view to their own interests, knowing as they did that the Christians do not like to settle where their Fathers are not to be found. And so, everybody set about unanimously to help them building a Church and Convent. Ere long all the necessary materials were ready. P. 16, Col. 2.
Then the work was taken in hand and the first foundations of the Mother Church were begun on the day of the triumphant entrance into heaven of the Heavenly Empress.¹ It was a harbinger of the triumphs that were to be gained over the devil by snatching from his thralldom, with the help of the invincible weapons of the Evangelical law, so vast a multitude of souls, the slaves of an abominable Idol-worship and of their false prophet Mahomet (*Mahoma*). Those servants of God and labourers in his vineyard resolved at once to part. Two remained in charge of the new foundation; the other three went about sowing the seed of the word of God in the neighbouring countries.

In the meantime, they wrote to the Father Provincial in India to ask for more labourers. At the first monsoon, the fame of the new city spread to many parts of India, and in consequence there was a great rush of Christians, Portuguese and natives.² The latter were as a rule men of a scanty means, and the Portuguese were mostly // highway robbers and men of dissolute life.³ P. 17, Col. 1.
Such were the people who settled in the city, and the Captain helping them

all, some with gifts, others with loans and shares in the profits, everyone took to trading, and in a short time Ugulim became one of the rich cities of the East.

Our Provincial in India hearing of the excellent state of things in Bengala and of the plentiful harvest the five labourers he had sent were reaping in the midst of those infidels, began at once at the following monsoon to look for men whom he could send. His choice fell on some in Cochin, and so that year he sent over seven other Religious.⁴

With their help the Lord's vineyard began to enlarge. Two Churches were built in the Kingdom of Angelim [Hijili], viz., one in the very city of that name, the other in the Bandel or Village of Banja,⁵ to be able to cope with the great number of merchants who gather there to buy sugar, wax and Gingham (Guingons), which, as I have said, is a kind of cloth made of grass (yerua) and silk,⁶ a very nice and cooling texture to wear during the hot summer.

The same year, too, some of our Augustinian Religious passed into the Kingdom of Ourixa [Orissa], the Government of the Nababo of Chateka,⁷ from whom they obtained formons and favourable letters-patent to build a Church and residence in the City of Piple,⁸ another port much frequented / by various nations of India because of its great traffic and trade.

Afterwards, in subsequent years, our Religious went further into the interior of those Kingdoms. They reached the City of Daack, or Dacca, as they say in Portuguese.⁹ This is the largest of all the cities of Bengala, and the residence of the chief Nababo or Viceroy, a dignitary appointed by the Padchá, who more than once bestowed this Viceroyalty on one of his [own] sons, because, as I have said, this city is now-a-days the chief one and, so to say, the Metropolis of all those of Bengala.¹⁰

It is situated in a beautiful and very extensive plain on the Bank of the famous and, at this place, fertilizing Ganges.¹¹ It extends for over a league and a half along its banks, and has as its ornaments at both ends the famous suburbs of Manaxor on one side, and of Narandin and Pulgari on the other.¹² Those suburbs are inhabited by Christians, and it is there my holy Order possesses a pretty, though small, Convent with a good Church, where the celebration of the Divine worship in the midst of that very vast Heathenism teaches it, too, the true way to salvation.¹³ This city is a great resort of various foreign nations, attracted thither by its immense trade and traffic in a great variety of articles, the exuberant produce of its fertile and luxuriant fields. All this makes it so rich that its wealth is a source of wonder, especially // when one sees and observes in the houses of many Catari¹⁴ and big merchants such an amount of money that they often weigh it to avoid the trouble of counting. I was told that the inhabitants of this

Gangetic emporium and its neighbourhood amounted to more than two hundred thousand, without counting the strangers. They come hither in the interests of their trade, to avail themselves of the great opportunities the city affords them; others, the sons of Mars, come to enjoy on those frontiers (*fronteras*) the large mainàs,¹⁵ or pay and salary, which are given there. Not less marvellous is the abundant supply of implements and eatables. Anything man's desire can wish for is to be found there, especially in the numerous Bazars or markets (*Plazas*). I would wonder there at the sight of the quantity and variety of fowls and wild birds, all of them sold alive and so cheap that it was like giving them away for nothing. For less than a silver real,¹⁶ in fact, one could very often get twenty turtle-doves or fifteen big wild pigeons,¹⁷ and all the other things of this kind went for the same price, more or less. The revenues which the Padchazes and Mogol Monarchs derive from this city are so great that it will appear incredible. As such, then, I must leave it, and I shall say only what they affirmed to me as a certain fact, namely that the Betele or / Indian leaf alone brought him every day four thousand rupees, that is two thousand pesos of our money. The wealth of this city is greatly due to the fact that it has in its neighbourhood the fertile and delightful kingdoms of Bacala,¹⁸ Solimanvàs,¹⁹ and Catrabò. In this city,²⁰ the first Religious built another Church and Residence, and a little after two others in the Bandels of Siripur and Noricul,²¹ where for the sake of the Gospel they suffered great opposition and much persecution from the Maumetan Moulàs.²² These are the ordinary expounders of the Alcoran; they also cut the throat of all the animals used for food, so that, in places where there is a Moulà, people think it a great imperfection to slaughter [themselves] the animals for their sustenance.²³ These afore-said Moulàs, together with some Dravizes,²⁴ who lived retired from the world and enjoyed the reputation of Pirs (*Pires*),²⁵ or Saints, managed with the help of the chief wife of the Nabàbo to raise a persecution against the Religious, in the hope of expelling them. For this sake, they greatly roused the fears of the people, preaching to them that God would punish them, if they allowed those Caffarès,²⁶ or men without religion, to live among the Mussulamans, *Mussalamanes* the chosen people of God; that those men were the Xeques²⁷ of the Nazarenes (*Nassaranes*), in other words the Fathers of the Christians, who taught people to eat pork // and drink wine out of hatred for their great prophet Mahomet, though he forbids it as Aram (*Aramo*),²⁸ or mortal sin, in his Forchan,²⁹ or Alcoran; consequently, they should agree to persecute them and not listen to their falsehoods. The persecution would have been carried out openly, had not the Fathers enjoyed the favour of the Padchà, and therefore that of the Nabàbo, God permitting this storm for the greater spreading of his most holy law.

P. 18, Col. 2.

P. 19, Col. 1.

The Padchâ or Emperor Acabar, as well as his son and successor Zia-hianguir or languir,³⁰ as he is more commonly called, tried more than once to give the Fathers lands for their maintenance, or assign to them mainàs,³¹ that is a monthly allowance, to be paid from their nacassares,³² or Royal treasuries, but the religious of St. Augustin always refused to accept such income, not only in this Empire, but also in Persia and other infidel Kingdoms where they live.³³ Their reason was that the majority of Asiatic Monarchs and Princes do not confer such favours on foreigners, unless they find in it their own interest and profit, and because they believe, as I have said, that in helping the Religious they will induce the Christian merchants to frequent their country the more. If they do not derive this advantage, unwilling as they are to give anything without profit, they seek an occasion to turn them out. Such was the fate of some Religious, who, wishing to possess in such countries landed properties and / other temporalities, came to grief and were expelled ignominiously.³⁴

P. 19, Col. 2.

The Religious Orders, which are anxious to save from ruin their Apostolic ministry in the Missions, and the propagation of the Gospel, must before all keep in view the spiritual conquests to be made; leaving temporal gain to those who, in their quality of merchants, make trade their profession. To do the reverse would be to expose them to mishaps of which we have numerous examples both in modern times and in by-gone days. Aware of these inconveniences, the Augustinian Missionaries prefer to live on the alms which they get from the faithful and even from some infidels, and on the quarterly allowances assigned to them by the Most Serene Kings of Portugal, though through the fault of their officials these are not paid them now and then. Besides, the Provincials help them as much as they can within the limits of religious poverty.

Another thing very prejudicial to the chief end pursued by the Missionaries in the propagation of the Catholic Faith and to their peace of soul no less, is to wish to take upon themselves, in the places where they have their residence, especially where merchants resort, all the work and management of the traffic, and to ask that all the goods should pass through their hands, winning over to their side for this purpose the Governors of the land and their chief officers.³⁵ //

P. 20, Col. 1.

They do all this in view of temporal gains, without reflecting that the foundations of such proceedings are of clay and cannot last, whilst at the same time they incur the displeasure and obloquy of Christians and infidels, and are a scandal to both. If the Christians do not lose their respect for the Faith which they preach, / the same Faith is much lowered in the esteem of the infidels.

P. 20, Col. 2.

What is more deplorable is that, when such things and others of a worse

nature come to the notice of those who should mend them, they shut their eyes and dissimulate. May the Lord grant in His infinite mercy that this dissembling, when confronted with His rigorous justice, be found justly excused by the impossibility of applying the remedy.

CHAPTER VI.

IN WHICH THE AUTHOR GIVES AN ACCOUNT OF THE FERTILITY AND COMMERCE OF THE KINGDOMS OF BENGALA SUBJECT TO THE GREAT MOGOL.

The Kingdoms of Bengala are composed of twelve Provinces, *viz.*, Bengala, Angelim, Ourixa, Jassor, Chandekan, Midinimpur, Catrabò, Bacalhà, Solimanvàs, Bulvâ, Dacâ and Rajamol, according to the manner of pronouncing of our Portuguese, for the natives say Ragmeel.¹ In olden times, all these Provinces were under a Gentile Monarch called Bengalque Padchâ,² in other words the Emperor of Bengala. His power was so great that he was one of the three most powerful Monarchs of India, ranking equal with the Kings of Cambay and Narsinga. / This Monarch of Bengala was living in the City of Gouro, of which I shall speak hereafter,³ and in the twelve Provinces he had under him twelve petty Kings, his vassals, whom the natives called the twelve Boiones of Bengala.⁴ They are now all subject to the Mogol Emperor. This was due to civil wars, when, after the defeat and total discomfiture of the Emperor of Bengala, they turned their arms against one another. The great Mogol established over all these Provinces his Nabâbos, who, as I have said, are like our Viceröys. These in their turn appoint Governors or Seguidares in those places where they think they can be of most service to their particular interests. In order also to keep the people better under their sway and tyranny, // these Nabâbos enhance the rents, which they collect five or six months in advance, because the time of their government is limited, and at the mercy of Padchâ. When they least expect it, the Padchâ changes them, either to raise them to higher positions or to deprive them of their power. For this reason do the Nabâbos take the rents in advance, and as a rule through violent means, and, if the poor natives are unable to pay, they take their wives and sons as slaves, and sell them at public auctions, if they are heathen.⁵ In spite of these violences, the Bengalas are so unwilling to part with their money that you find among them certain castes who think it a disgrace to pay those taxes, unless they have first received a good whipping. Should they pay without this help, they find at home no kind reception from their wives, who punish them for several days with a scanty diet, and reproach them by saying they are useless and worthless fellows, for giving away so easily the money which it had been so hard to earn.

P. 20, Col. 1,
infra.

P. 20, Col. 2,
infra.

P. 21, Col. 1.

In most parts of Bengala the climate is healthy and the water good, not only the waters of the Ganges, but also the others which have their source in the country itself (*ansi la del Ganger, como las otras nativas*). The foodstuffs are also most abundant, especially wheat, rice, vegetables, sugar, /
 P. 21, Col. 2. butter, oils of different kinds, not the olive-oil, however, and many sorts of meats of domesticated and of wild animals. The rice here is far better than the European one, especially the scented variety; for, besides being very fine and of a most agreeable flavour, it has after being cooked a nice smell which one would think a blending of several scents.⁶ All these supplies are very cheap, since a Candil⁷ of rice, equivalent to fourteen parás or fourteen of our salemines,⁸ might cost three or, at the utmost, four rupees, a rupee being equal to half a peso or four reals of Spain.⁹ One cantaro or twelve azumbres¹⁰ of butter sells at the utmost for two rupees; one fardel (*fardo*)¹¹ of from seven to eight arrobas of sugar will cost from five to six pesos. As regards flesh-meat, in many places you can get a cow for three or four reals; from twenty to twenty-five fowls for one peso,¹² and all the rest accordingly.

Vineyards do not exist in Bengala, and therefore wine from grapes is not to be found, except wine imported from Portugal. A liquor made from rice takes its place here: the husked rice is soaked in water in a cantaro or large jar, for three or four days, and, when fermentation sets in and the rice is almost melted, they distil it over a fire once or twice and even more, according to the strength they want. This kind of wine is very
 P. 22, Col. 1. substantial, and has on the senses the same effect as ours, if // you drink too much of it. They manufacture another kind of wine from a sugar-extract (*de azucar mas cauado*), which here they call jagra; ¹³ this one too is distilled; and they make it as strong as they wish, and, if you steep a piece of cloth in one of these two kinds of liquor, it catches fire as if it had been soaked in oil.

The Kingdom of Midinimpur produces also scented oils of great value composed of various odoriferous flowers and other scented ingredients.¹⁴ This oil is exported everywhere, for almost all the oriental peoples anoint themselves with oil, men as well as women, at their accustomed daily bath; hence it finds its way to the homes of men of quality and wealth for their gratification.

All these Kingdoms of Bengala are much visited and resorted to by many foreigners on account of the great traffic which is carried on in foodstuffs, as mentioned before, and also in very precious cloth. The traffic in foodstuffs is so great that annually in the ports of Bengala over a hundred ships are loaded only with rice, sugar, butter, oils, wax and other similar goods. The greater amount of the cloth is made of cotton, and is of a more delicate and beautiful texture than can be found anywhere else. It is in these

countries, too, that they manufacture the most delicate and valuable muslin pieces (*cassar*),¹⁵ fifty and sixty yards in length, and seven or eight palms in breadth, / with the extremities embroidered in gold, silver, and coloured silk. P. 22, Col. 2. These muslins are so delicate that the merchants carry them in bambu pipes, two ordinary spans long, and in this way they take them to Corazane,¹⁶ Persia, Turkey, and many other parts.¹⁷

Those bambus are a kind of cane, as I have said, with the same shape as ours, but far stronger without comparison, chiefly those they call male bambus.¹⁸ Some of these are as thick as a man's leg,¹⁹ and those that are not thicker than the arm are a commercial article of great value, for each of these bambus costs from two to three hundred rupees.²⁰ They are much in use for palanquins (*palanquines*), because, being of sufficient length, they can by artificial means be curved in the middle, and given a permanent fine bend, affording besides at their extremities room for two men, one on each side, who carry the palanquin on their shoulders. These bearers are the oxen (*bueyes*) of these conveyances, not only *de facto*, but also in name, for in the whole of India they call them buyes.²¹

Here too grows a certain plant, which they call Anfon.²² It resembles our hemp, except that the seed is smaller. They sow it every year, and, when it is in leaf, they call it Posto.²³ From this plant and its fruit they extract // a black stuff, very bitter, which they call Anfon, and which is used P. 23, Col. 1. by many oriental peoples, because it gives them strength and vigour for the gratification of their lewdness and lust.²⁴ One must be careful, however, to take it with weight and measure, for taken in excess the drug is harmful, and the most which is taken by those who are used to it will be four to five pesos in weight.²⁵ The same opium mixed with any oil is a most violent poison.²⁶ One of its particularities is that the opium-eaters (*Anfonistas*), once they have grown accustomed to the drug, cannot any longer do without it for a day, and, if perchance they do not get it, they look half dead, as long as they are deprived of it, and grow weaker and weaker, so that, should they remain deprived of it for three or four days, or six days at most, they will die.²⁷ Bangué²⁸ and Posto produce the same effects. Posto is taken with water, in which it is / well mixed until the water becomes black and bitter. This drink P. 23, Col. 2. is a powerful aphrodisiac, but it exhausts so much man's nature that within two or three years it renders him absolutely impotent and unfit for any kind of work. The effect of Posto, Bangué and Anfon is to take away consciousness and cause certain mental troubles.²⁹ The custom is also, when preparing these drugs for rich and fastidious people, to mix with them nutmeg, mace, cloves, Borneo camphor, Amber (*Ambar*),³⁰ and Musk (*Almizre*),³¹ all ingredients exceedingly hot and suitable to their end, which is to get stimulated in their savage and bestial lusts.³² These three potions are also

went to cause, especially in phlegmatic people, deep sleep, laughing and mirth, by driving away all thoughts to the contrary. These barbarous nations, deprived of our true and holy law, seek only carnal enjoyments and believe that in these consists the acme of human felicity.

CHAPTER VII.

IN WHICH THE AUTHOR TREATS OF THE PERSONAL FEATURES AND
NATURAL DISPOSITIONS OF THE BENGALA NATION AND OF
THEIR MANNER OF LIVING.

P. 24, Col. 1. a A certain Italian writer affirms in his writings that the Bengalas are of
a // white complexion, and pompous and dainty in their way of living and
dressing; but, in this and other similar declarations, I shall not abide by him.¹
All he wrote was from hearsay; what I shall tell will be the result of personal
observation and long experience. Relying therefore on truth, I declare that
the native of Bengala has a brown complexion, and that many are black, like
the Chingalàs of Ceilan.² They have a well-proportioned appearance of face
and limbs, and are of ordinary stature. The dress of the common people,
men and women, is made of cotton-cloth without any tailoring. The men
dress with six or seven spans of cloth from the waist downwards, the upper
part of their body remaining naked: they wear no shoes: their head-dress is
a turban (*toqua*), twelve or fourteen spans long and two spans broad, which in
most parts will cost a quarter of a rupee. This is the dress of the common
people. The more wealthy and important carry over their shoulder and on
their back a piece of cloth of the same length mentioned above.³

P. 24, Col. 2. The women wear cloth of the same material, but use a larger amount,
for generally they carry from eighteen to twenty spans of it, with which they
cover their whole body. In some Provinces this ordinary cotton-stuff is so cheap
that they can dress for four reals.⁴ As a rule, the women have their arms
covered with bracelets, and rings (*axorcas*),⁵ which differ from the bracelets
in size and shape. These rings they place at the end, middle and top of the
arm to bring out better the bracelets. In their ears they wear large rings
(*argollas*) and similar ornaments; and in their nostrils, chiefly on the left
side, they have a small ring of gold or silver,⁶ and those who have the means
beautify them with one or two pearls of value. Their necks are also adorned
with rings generally made of gansa,⁷ a certain kind of metal of better
quality than the one we call Morisco latten (*Morisco loton*).⁸ Ladies of rank
and wealth wear at the feasts and solemnities the same ornaments made of
gold and set with valuable precious stones. They wear also rings, not only
on their hands, but also on their toes, and the instep is likewise covered with
rings (*axorcas*) and bracelets.⁹ These are the jewels which are in use.

They are made, as I have said, of gold, silver, gansa, chanquo, ivory (*marfil*), and in some parts of Calaim, a sort of tin.¹⁰ On feast-days, the dress of the women is generally of silk of all shades, or of rich cloth interwoven with gold, silver and silk.

On the same occasions, men of rank and wealth put on drawers (*calzones*) and cabayas,¹¹ after the Mogol fashion. The only difference is in the cabayas, which are a kind of gown // coming down to the middle of the leg. P. 25, Col. 1. The difference which distinguishes at a glance the Moor from the Gentoo is that with the Moors the gown opens to the right and with the Gentooes to the left.¹² As for the drawers, which they call *izar*, there is no difference; they are all narrow and very long, and the acme of smartness consists in having the legs of the *izares* with more folds and creases than a French hose.¹³ On such days, the ordinary people are satisfied with wearing their cloth very clean and white.

The character of the Bengala nation is weak and pusillanimous, and, like most Asiatic peoples, they look only to their own profit. They are of a cowardly and mean disposition and more inclined to be servants than masters. Hence they become easily accustomed to captivity and slavery. If you want them to serve you well and go straight, you must treat them with more severity than kindness. This is so true that among themselves they say by way of proverb: "*Marè Tacùr, na marè Cucùr*,"¹⁴ which in our language means: "Whoever beats us is a master; whoever spares us is a dog." With this, the curious reader will be able to form an idea of the character of this nation.

The Bengalas live generally in mud and clay houses, which are very low and covered with straw or with palm-leaves. / As a rule, they keep their houses very clean, and for this they besmear them frequently with cow-dung mixed with clay; not only the walls but the floor too, and the place where they eat has to undergo the operation every day. Some castes even are obliged to rub this place each time before taking their meal.¹⁵ Wives do not eat with their husbands, but only after they have given them their food. The house furniture of the common people consists generally of a mat of straw on which they sleep, and the cover is a blanket of cotton, which they call *cantas*;¹⁶ four earthen vessels in which they cook their rice, some simple ragouts (*simplices guisados*), and other very poor stuff of the kind. Their food and daily bread is rice, which, for want of something better, they will eat with a little salt and be satisfied. Some castes eat also herbs, to which they give the general name of *Xaga*,¹⁷ and those who can afford it make use also of milk, butter, and other milky food. They partake of fish, but seldom, especially those who live in the interior. Now and then, they eat the flesh of certain animals, such as goats, kids, castrated goats (*cabras, cabrittos, castra-* P. 25, Col. 2.

das), which they usually call *Bacari* meat, also the flesh of wild boars, wood pigeons, turtle-doves, quails and other similar kinds, ¹⁸ but they will never touch the flesh // of domestic pigs and fowls, eat eggs and other domestic animals, and above all they eschew the flesh of cows or bullocks. Among these infidels and heathens, you find some sects more severe, whose followers not only never eat living things, but even herbs and vegetables of a red colour, ¹⁹ because to eat the like is as they say "*hord gunâ*," ²⁰ which means, a great sin. This sect of idolaters eat generally *Kachari*, ²¹ a dish of rice and of lentils, in the proportion of two of rice to one of lentils. For want of these they eat *Mungo*, which is a kind of small pulse of a dark green colour, very wholesome, and a remedy for sick people. ²² To these ingredients they add butter which makes the dish substantial. At their banquets they prepare another kind of *Kachari*, which they call *Guarate Kachari*, a more costly thing, on account of the number of ingredients which enter into it, such as almonds, raisins, cloves, mace, nutmeg, cardamom, cinnamon and pepper. ²³ They eat also a number of sweets prepared after their own fashion with a great quantity of butter. All these peoples, men and women, previous to their eating, must take a bath under pain, for not doing so, of committing, according to their false notions, a most grievous sin. If they have / an opportunity of anointing themselves with oil before the bath, this is considered the summum of perfection.

They keep only one wife like the generality of the Heathens. The men, as a rule, are not very voluptuous, but the women beat them on this point, for, with the intention of attracting lovers, they resort to much witchcraft and many potions, which they give to the men, with the result that now and then they kill them; and, if perchance they escape death, they remain mad and very ill. The Bengala women are also naturally of a desperate temper, so much so that now and then they commit suicide by poisoning or hanging themselves. On the other hand they are compassionate, charitable, and very prone to hold as true whatever one wants them to believe, and on this account they are more easily than the men converted to the true Catholic Faith. The Bengalas are also much addicted to the practice of augury and omens, allowing themselves to be influenced by the voice and song of birds and the movements of other dumb animals, doing or leaving undone what they have to do, according to the good or bad interpretation they put on such foolish things.

P. 27.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE HEATHENS OF
BENGALA, AND OF THEIR BRAMENES.

Col. 1.

Formerly all the Kingdoms of Bengala followed heathenism, and even now most of them are still doing so. The only exceptions are some, who,

after the Mogol conquest, have left the rougher way to hell to follow the easier and broader one of the Alcoran. This path is full of all the delights and pleasures weak human nature can wish for, and in these consists the whole of man's happiness according to the Alcoran. This book also promises to its followers, as the chief bliss of the life to come, and as a remuneration for all the sufferings their infamous and false prophet Maomet makes them undergo in this life, when they deprive themselves of carnal delights and pleasures, a life of beatitude, and very great happiness in places where are to be found large rivers of milk, butter and honey, and other similar nonsense.

Now with regard to the Gentoos, I must say that they are divided into several sects according to the tenets of the Bramenes whom they follow. These Brahmenes, as I have explained, are their priests, but all agree in worshipping the Sun, the River Ganges and the cow, from which creatures, as they say, they receive / great benefits, giving them the credit they ought to give to their Divine Creator. In their books they attribute to the Ganges, which they call Gongà, great virtues and prerogatives, and they hold as certain that bathing in its waters washes away at once all their sins and frees them from guilt and punishment. Therefore, the first thing done by those living on its banks, when they leave their couch, is to go and bathe in the river. It may rain or it may be very cold, that does not prevent them from bathing. Their getting into the water is accompanied by some ceremonies of which I must give an account, especially of those performed by their Bramenes, for these last ceremonies are more mysterious and superstitious. P. 27, Col. 2.

The Bramenes, when they are about to enter their sacred Gongà, carry in their right hand a few bits of rice-straw, in the left a small vessel (*escudela*) of copper or brass. With these preparations, they get into the River, counting their steps and throwing away, after a fixed number of them, a piece of straw, reciting at the same time some prayers of praise and supplication, which they continue till they have thrown away all the bits of straw,¹ and so ends their first ceremony. The second consists // in filling up the small vessel with water, which they throw heavenwards, and this means, according to their explanation, that they owe their food and drink to Heaven. Then begins the third act of their ridiculous comedy. It consists in profound inclinations to the Gongà, opening in the meantime and shutting their hands on the top of their heads. Follow then similar inclinations towards the side of the rising Sun, and the farce is over. Thereupon, they come out of the River, now wholly sanctified and purified, according to their notions, and they go straight to their home, where, for the sake of still greater purity, they kiss the most disgusting part of the Cow, and throw on their heads a powder made from the dung of the same animal.² These ashes are given them as P. 28, Col. 1.

something holy by their jogues, who are like our hermits, and live retired from the cares of the world.

P. 28, Col. 2. The Bengalas who live far away from the Ganges, in the interior of the country, take their bath in tanks (*tanques*),³ which for this purpose are dug at the expense of the whole village, or are made by rich or pious people in their lifetime, or after their death, if they have made the proper stipulation in their will. Some of these tanks involve great labour, and much money is spent on them. These idolaters have also their temples, which they call Pagodes, where they keep their Idols of various shapes, representing men, women, and several kinds of dumb animals. It is in these Pagodes they make / their prayers, oblations and sacrifices. In most of these Heathen temples officiate the Bramenes, the ministers of their false Gods. Some of these Pagodes are really magnificent, majestic and admirable buildings and contain great riches.

The chief in these Kingdoms of Bengala is the temple of Jagarnate in the Kingdom of Ourixa, on the sea-shore. It is a place much resorted to in Pilgrimage (*Romeria*) by a great number of pagans, some of whom bequeath large alms. This Pagode, as I have said, is called the Pagode of Jagarnate, and takes its name from the name of the Idol.⁴ This is a statue of stone of enormous size and gigantically tall, all covered with rich and precious jewels in gold, and diamonds of great value. One of its legs is broken. The Bramenes relate in their books about this diabolical statue that [Jagernate], who was the cook of God our Lord in heaven, spoiled one day the cooking, and in punishment of this fault was cast down from heaven and broke his leg in the fall.⁵ This Idol Jagernate is seated on a throne covered with cloth of gold,⁶ and has a guard of gigantic statues of men, whom in their language they call Raiquôs, or demi-gods.⁷ Of these they narrate in their books great deeds and exploits, which they accomplished during their life; but they are so absurd that I pass them over. Their story, besides, / would fill up a big book.

P. 29, Col. 1.

During the solemnities in honour of this idol, they make grand and magnificent processions, in which several Idols are carried on triumphal cars of very costly workmanship. These solemnities and processions are taken part in by an immense multitude of Pagans of both sexes from the neighbourhood, as well as of pilgrims from very far-off lands.

A number of jogues and hypocritical Devotees (*Santulones*)⁸ segregated from the world, great magicians, whose pride matches that of all the devils together, flock also to the place. They appear in those meetings in the garb of humility and penance, chained and tied with thick iron chains and with their hands fettered. When they reach the entrance to their shrine of error, the moment they practise with proud and insolent demonstrations their

magical art, their chains suddenly drop off, and they remain unfettered and free, to the great applause and admiration of those Barbarian infidels, who look upon such fraud as a very great miracle. Some of these jogues and ministers of hell, carried away by a devilish frenzy and the approbation of the barbarian mob, go and sacrifice willingly to the devil their wretched body by stretching themselves in the middle of the streets followed by the procession. At the passage of the cars with the Idols, they are run over / and their miserable body is torn to pieces and dismembered. They are looked upon as martyrs, but in truth they are rather the martyrs of the devil. P. 29, Col. 2.

Some others select another mode of martyrdom: placing themselves along the same roads at the top of very high poles, where they are caught by iron hooks, they shed their blood, while the procession in passing, until they die and go to give up their unfortunate souls not to the divine Creator, but to the arch-rebel creature, with whom they go to enjoy in hell, in the shape of eternal torments, the laurels given them by the devil for their martyrdom."

At the new moon of June, these Heathens have the custom of making a general procession in all the big villages in honour of an Idol they call Druga and of which they relate in their books that she was formerly the prostitute of their false gods. This strumpet they carry processionally on a triumphal car, beautifully ornamented, in the midst of a big company of dancing-girls, who support themselves not only by dancing but by making prostitution their trade. These go ahead, dancing and playing all kinds of festive musical instruments. In this way the procession makes its way through several streets, till the ceremonies of pomp and honour make room for those of dishonour and disgrace; for, after carrying the Idol amidst such pomp and pageant up to a River or, for want of a river, to a tank; they cast it into the water with great insults, // pelting it with stones and mud and calling it a prostitute and many other opprobrious names mingled with shouts, vociferations, sneers and scoffs. / This is the way they end their feast, and then they go home full of joy and satisfaction. P. 30, Col. 1. P. 30, Col. 2.

CHAPTER IX.

IN WHICH IS GIVEN A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF SAGOR, FORMERLY THE HEAD-QUARTERS OF MANY SECTS OF EASTERN HEATHENISM.

The Island of Sagor is situated in the Ocean of Bengal, not far from the land of Angelim. It has a circumference of a little more than 20 leagues, and is entirely flat, and very cool. In olden times, this Island was the abode of Bramenes, who were in the service of its Pagodes and lived on their P. 30, Col. 1, *infra*.

wealth. Among these there was one, whose ruined chapels and beautiful domes, grand and noble in appearance, I could still see. This Island began to lose its inhabitants after the coming of the Portuguese into Bengala, and, though it is now deserted, yet it is a place still resorted to and frequented from all parts by foreign Pilgrims, who come in Romery and visit its ruined sanctuaries. ¹ For this they run great risk and danger from the Portuguese and Mogo Fleets, which come frequently to the Island, not only / to refresh themselves (*para refrescarso*), but also in search of pilgrims, whom, as they are for the greater part subjects of the Mogol despot and other hostile Kings, they carry away as slaves. ²

P. 30, Col. 2,
infra.

You find here Tanks with very good water, surrounded and embellished with green, shady and pleasant areca groves, which trees give a cool shade, and are, as I just said, very pleasant to the sight. They produce bunches resembling those of the date-palm: from these bunches they get a fruit which they call areca, and which is in daily use among almost all Oriental Nations, since they eat it together with the Indian leaf, or Betele, as the natives call it. This Betele is an aromatic, very stomachic and invigorating leaf, which, besides keeping the mouth free from bad smell, preserves also the teeth from decay, when some pure lime is mixed with it. ³

P. 31, Col. 1.

When the pilgrims reach this their holy place of Romery, the first thing // the men do is to shave their hair and beard, and, after anointing themselves with oil, they bathe in the tanks. The women do the same, except that they do not cut their hair. When they have gone through this bathing, they consider themselves already purified, sanctified, absolved and free from all guilt and penalty, and enter the Pagodes, making great prostrations and acts of submission. Some of them, men as well as women, excited and deceived by the enemy of mankind offer their life to those Idols, entreating them with many prayers and tears to accept it favourably. As soon as this solemn offering has been made, they go and place themselves chest-deep in the sea, where they are at once devoured by certain very ferocious sea-animals, which are found there, and which in our language we call Tubérons and Sharks (*Tubérones* ⁴ y *Tintureiras*.) These beasts have three rows of teeth. In this place, as they are accustomed and taught to feed often on human flesh, they are so bloodthirsty that they will attack any shadow with great agility and ferocity. ⁵ Yet, it happens that, either because they are satiated or far away from the spot, they do not take the voluntary offering which those wretched Idolaters make them of their body. What should be looked upon as great luck and good fortune these men consider unlucky and unfortunate, and, when they come out of the sea, / they manifest their grief with great cries and lamentations, fully convinced it is owing to their demerits and great sins that their false and diabolical gods have not found them

P. 31, Col. 2.

worthy for accepting the sacrifice of their life, and henceforward they consider themselves as damned and doomed. ⁶

The Gentoos living in the vicinity of these lands and chiefly the Bramense, their priests, do not allow Christians and people of another faith to live in this Island; and, though they cannot prevent it by force, yet they have means to do it, such as poisoning the water and persuading the heaven that their idols will chastise them severely, should they have any relations or trade with people who, being of another faith, come to inhabit and pollute those sacred places of theirs with their lodgings and their presence.

But this would matter very little to them, had not the Portuguese some other more important business to look after. The water of the Gonga Sagor ⁷ is so much worshipped by the generality of Oriental Heathens, that the pilgrims carry it to the most distant countries, and distribute it as relics, for which in return they get great presents, so that they carry on a profitable trade under colour of religion and charity. ⁸ The same was done by the Lascâres, the sailors on board the Portuguese ships, who are mostly Gentiles or Moors. These fellows, when they travelled to those parts, were taking with them of this water // and were giving occasion to those miserable idolaters to practise fresh superstitions, thus offending their divine Creator as much as they served the devil. For this reason, in a Council held in Goa under the Most Illustrious Archbishop Don Fray Alejo de Meneses, an Augustinian, and the Primate of the whole East, at which Council were present all the Bishops then in India, it was forbidden, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, to the Captains and Masters of ships, to allow any one to carry away any of that water. ⁹ P. 32, Col. 1.

It was the custom also among the Gentoos Kings of those countries, and even among some Maometan Monarchs, on the occasion of their coronation or the first taking possession of their Kingdom, to send for that water to bathe in it, and use it for the ceremonies performed in such circumstances. ¹⁰ the masters and ministers of such vain observances being the Bramenes, who promise them through the virtue of that water great spiritual and temporal benefits.

It is also a common practice among the Pagans who live close to the Ganges, when they think their sick people about to die, to take them on their beds to the banks of the Ganges, so that the sight of it may console their last moments, and, that their soul may go forth more purified, they pour of that water in their mouths with certain rites, uttering at the same time words by which they pray for the unfortunate souls, / and it happens at times that, before the wretched man passes away, they choke him, through the excess of water they pour into his mouth. ¹¹ As soon as they are dead, P. 32, Col. 2.

P. 30, Col. 2,
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P. 32, Col. 2.

they burn them and throw the ashes into the Ganges, with the bed and the clothes of the dead man. ¹² When the deceased is a man of quality and wealth, they burn him with the scented-wood of the white and the red sandal, and of the wild and cultivated eagle-wood (*agula*). ¹³ Should they have been married, the wives are burned together with their husbands. They wear for the purpose their best jewels, are anointed with sandal and sweet-scented oils, and garlanded over the chief parts of their body with natural and artificial flowers. On this sad occasion, the unfortunate woman is accompanied by the cortège of all her relatives and of all those of her dead husband. In token of their joy, they come all in festive dress, and, as if there was question of a merry marriage, the dancing-girls are there, singing and playing various musical instruments, while in their midst walks the doomed woman going to burn herself. That she may not be afraid of death, they put her to a great extent under the influence of Bangué, which means that she is almost out of her senses. To this effect they prepare a certain potion in which Bangué, a drug of which we have already spoken, and other substances enter, by which, as I say, she gets out of her senses. When she is in this state, they take her several times round the pyre, leaning// the whole time on her nearest relatives and accompanied by the female musicians, who sing her praises in Bengaletic verses to the harmonious tunes of their instruments and extol the happiness she is going to enjoy in the other world in her husband's company. At the end of these ceremonies, they cast her on a very large pyre, the musical instruments playing louder, and all shouting loud hurra's, which last till the corpse is reduced to / ashes. These ashes are then thrown at once into the waters of the big and broad Ganges. Thus the Prince of Darkness carries these unfortunate souls off to the place of eternal torments, and for this does he keep them in such ignorance that these Barbarians imagine there is no other road so straight to Heaven than the one taught by those detestable sects, and yet their tenets are so full of great abominations and cruelty that the most mediocre reasoning would be enough to prove them contrary to reason itself. ¹⁴

P. 33, Col. 1.

P. 33, Col. 2.

CHAPTER X

HOW I LEFT BENGALA FOR THE KINGDOM OF ARRACAN.

P. 33, Col. 1,
infra.

If that Holy Bard, the Royal Prophet David, teaches us in his Divine verses that with the elect we shall be elect, and with the perverse shall be perverse; ¹ how truly was it to be the case with me, while I was living in our Religious and reformed Convent, ² a Seminary of Missionary subjects of rare virtues and holiness, which, under the title of that great luminary of Tolentino ³ and of the whole of Italy, stood here too like a beacon of light in

the heart / of that vast Paganism of Bengala. Living familiarly among those servants of God, studying the Bengala and Industan (*Industana*) languages,⁴ and occupying myself in a Missionary's duties, I hoped in God's mercy, naturally bad and lukewarm as I was in spiritual matters, that in the society of such edifying companions, always burning with the fire of the love of God and of the neighbour, I should become less bad at least, and less barren in ghostly things. But divine providence allowed // what, I agree, had to be, considering how unworthy I was of such company. At the time when I was enjoying more the sweet company of my good brethern, obedience obliged me to give up all this and leave the City of Vgulin for the Kingdom of Arracan. The occasion was the arrival of some Portuguese Geliàs from the Port of Dianga.⁵ They lay a league below the City, and, at this news, the Superior ordered me to embark. At this order, I took care to buy at once some things necessary for that Mission; which done, I went on board the eleventh of September of the year 1629.....

P. 33, Col. 2,
infra.

P. 34, Col. 1.

[11 Sept.,
1629.]

[To be continued.]

NOTES TO CH. V.

P. 16, col. 2.

1. *The first Augustinian Church at Hughli.*—The Church was dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, and the Convent was called “of St. Nicholas of Tolentino,” though we often read of the Convent of St. Augustine, this latter title being easily explained by the fact that it harboured Hermits of St. Augustin. It was the mother-house of the Augustinian establishments in Bengal.

In the present Convent of Bandel is still to be seen a stone bearing the year 1599. I have tried to prove in *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1913, Jan.—March, pp. 41-54, that this stone does not go back to the very year of the foundation of the original Church, but was inserted at a much later period. However, there is no doubt that the Augustinians arrived in Bengal in 1599, and we have it on Manrique's authority that the Church and Convent were begun the same year on the Feast of Our Lady's Assumption, August 15. Hence, the fact commemorated by that stone may be accepted as correct. The original Church of 1599 was burnt down to the ground, according to an eye-witness, Fr. John Cabral, S. J., in 1632, during the siege of Hughli.

2. *Anachronism.*—This rush of new settlers must have followed the news of the concession of lands and privileges granted to Tavares; therefore, after 1580. The immigration had certainly taken place before the favourable report sent by the Augustinians, for this report could not have been sent earlier than 1599 or 1600, and the Jesuits had found a comparatively large Portuguese population at Hughli in 1598.

P. 17, col. 1.

3. *The scum of the Portuguese population at Hughli.*—van Linschoten, who was in India between 1583 and 1589 says of Chittagong (Porto Grande) and Hughli (Porto Pequeno):—

“The Portingalles deale and traffique thether, and some places are inhabited by them, as the havens which they call Porto Grande, and Porto Pequeno, that is, the great haven and the little haven, but there they have no Fortes nor any government, nor police, as in India [they have], but live in a manner like wild men, and untamed horses, for that every man doth there what hee will, and every man is Lord [and maister], neither esteeme they anything of Justice, whether there be any or none, and in this manner doe certayne Portingalles dwell among them, some here, some there, [scattered abroad], and are for the most part such as dare not stay in India, for some wickednesse by them committed.” Cf. van Linschoten, Hakl. edn., I. 95.

“A large number of Portuguese dwell in freedom at the ports on this coast of Bengal; they are also very free in their lives, being like exiles. They do only traffic, without any fort, order, or police, and live like natives of the country; they durst not return to India, for certain misdeeds they have committed, and they have no clergy among them,.....” Cf. Pymard de Laval, Hakl. edn., I. 334 and 334 n. 3. He was at Chittagong in 1607, but did not come to Hughli. There were clergy at Hughli in 1607, but perhaps there were none then at Chittagong.

I do not think that the Portuguese at Hughli and in Arakan ever owned allegiance to Goa. They appealed to Goa for help in time of danger; at all times they tried to

be their own masters and chose their own Captains. Hence, the attempt on the part of the Portuguese Government, at the end of the 18th century, to claim the lands about Bandel Church, Hugli, as Government property, betrayed considerable ignorance of history. The contention of the Augustinians was that the Moghul Emperors never granted lands at Hugli to the Portuguese Government as such, but to the Church. That, too, was not quite accurate. Cf. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *O Chronista de Tirvany*, 1866, pp. 60-62, or our article in *Bengal Past & Present*, 1915, Jan.—March, pp. 106—118.

4. *Seven Augustinians more.*—If this second contingent came one year after the first, the date would have been 1600, and the number of the Augustinians in Bengal would have risen to twelve.

* The conversion of so many souls, made by the Fathers of St. Augustin, in the years 1601 and 1602, may be read in a relation, sent by the Bishops, and Viceroy of the East Indies, which was printed in Rome, in the year 1606. It is related therein that two Fathers of St. Augustin, preaching to the Portuguese, in the Kingdom of Bengala, baptised, that year alone, sixty-two thousand and six hundred and six [62,606] persons. In the same way, in a country called Ugolin [Hugli], eight hundred and fifty-four persons were converted through the preaching of one of the same Fathers, called Father Leonard of Grace.* Cf. F. Geronimo Gratiani (a Carmelite), *Zelo della Propagazione della Fede...* Tradotto di Lingua Spagnuola in Italiana, Roma, Stefano Paolini, 1610, p. 7.

The relation printed at Rome in 1606, appeared the same year in Paris: *Relation authentique envoyée par les prélats, Viceroy, Grand Chancelier et secrétaire de l'Etat des Indes à S. M. Catholique*. Paris, François Huby, 1606. 8°. (Cf. Tournaux-Compans, *Biblioth. Asiatique*, Paris, 1841, p. 107, n. 950.)

5. *A Church at the Bandel of Banja.*—Bandel is a Portuguese corruption of *bandar*, "the wharf"; and in this shape we find it applied by the Portuguese to a variety of places. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Bandel, and Suppl. I suggest that, in the Portuguese mind, the term became gradually dissociated from the idea of "port," or "wharf," according as they settled further away in the interior, and that it meant in Manrique's time "a place where foreigners live." Fr. A. Farinha, S. J., speaks of three *bandela* in the town of Arakan, one for the Portuguese, another for Japanese Christians, and a third in which resided other European foreigners (1640).

It remains, however, to be noted that Banja was on some important river, "They [the Augustinians] founded another [Church] at Banja under the title of Our Lady of Salvation, the Christian community there counting five hundred souls, exclusive of those whom the great commerce of that Port brought to the place, albeit the climate is little salubrious." Cf. J. Sicardo, *Christianidad del Japon*, Ch. III, from information going up to 1632. In Van den Broecke's map (c. 1660) Banja appears half-way between Kindua and Tamboli (Tamluk). For "Kendoa," cf. *The Diary of W. Hedges*, II, cxxx, and III, ccvii. Yule suggests its identity with Kontai.

In 1635, Manrique was instrumental in having a Church built at Tamluk. "Tamboli and Banja," wrote Valentijn (1726, V^{de} Deel, 159), are two Portuguese villages, where they have their Churches and salt business." I suppose Banja was on

the Haldi River. But see "Paps of Banja" in Thornton's Map. (Cf. Yule, *Diary of W. Hodges*, III, App.)

For Manrique's adventures in 1635 at Banja, Tambolim (Tamluk) and Moxodol—a place which might be identical with Mysadol (x in Moxodol being pronounced like *sh*) and reminds us of "the Musundulin" (cf. *supra*, Note 2, Ch. II)—see his *Itinerario*, pp. 239—251. The Augustinian in charge of Banja in 1635 was Padre Fray Diego de la Concepcion, then 69 years old, of which he had spent 51 in religion and 28 as a Missionary in Bengal.

6. *Guingones of grass and silk*.—"They have likewise other linnen excellently wrought of a hearbe, which they spinne like yearne: this yearne is to be seen at the house of Paladanns: it is yellowish, and is called the hearbe of Bengalen, wherewith they do most cunningly stitch their coverlits, pavilions, pillows, carpets, and mantles; therein to Christen children, as women in child-bed with us use to doe, and make them with flowers and branches, and personages, that it is wonderful to see, and so finely done with cunning workmanship, that it cannot be mended throughout Europe: likewise they make whole peeces or webbes of this hearbe, sometimes mixed and woven with silke, although those of the hearbe it selfe are dearer and more esteemed, and is much faster than the silke. These webs are named Sarrijo [*Sari*, Hind.] and it is much used and worn in India, as well for men's breeches, as dublets, and it may be washed like linnen, (and, being washt,) it sheweth and continueth as faire as if it were new." Cf. van Linschoten, *Hakl.*, edn., I, 95-96.

Manrique's description of the Gingham of Bengal, as being a mixture of silk and herbs, would deserve a place in *Hobson-Jobson*.

7. *The Nabab of Chateka* (Nawab of Cuttack).—He must have been dependent on Dacca.

Before his death in 1578, Husain Quli Beg, *alias* Khan Jahan, had annexed the whole of Bengal, Blhar and Orissa, including Cuttack, to the Moghul Empire. "With Daoud Khan [killed in 1576] terminated the line of Bengal Kings who had reigned in succession over that country for 236 years; and with him were brought to a conclusion the sovereignty of the Afghan nation over that Province, of which they had held the uncontroled possession for nearly four centuries." Cf. Stewart, *Hist. of Bengal*, pp. 164, 167.

8. *The Augustinians at Pipli*.—It is unfortunate that the year when the Augustinians went to Pipli cannot be determined from Manrique's account. We suggest that it was before 1610.

Manrique visited Pipli in 1636, and left it for Goa on Febr. 25, 1638. For a description of the place, cf. his *Itinerario*, pp. 251-258. He found there Fray Sebastian de los Martires and Fray Baltasar de S. Ursula. The Augustinians do not appear at Balasore before 1640.

"Balasore begunn to be a noted place when the Portuguez were beaten out of Angelin by the Moores about the yeare 1636: at which time the trade begun to decay at Pipli and to have a diminution in other places of these parts, and the Barr opening and the river appearing better then was imagined." Cf. *Diary of Streygham Master*, pp. 322 seq., quoted from Bowrey's *A Geogr. Account*, p. 162, n. 3.

9. *The Augustinians of Dacca*.—I do not know the precise date when they settled there. They had a house there in 1632. P. 17, col. 2.

10. *The Emperor's sons Nawab of Dacca*.—Shāh Jahān, son of Jahāngir, was Governor at Dacca from 1622 to 1625, and his own son Sultān Shujā' in 1639.

11. *Dacca on the Ganges*.—Does Manrique use here the word "Ganges" in a loose sense (Gangā=river) for one of the minor channels of the Ganges? The Ganges, I believe, has sometimes shifted its course in the Dacca direction. Father Tieffenthaler in 1763 says that Dacca stands on the "Bouri" Gangā. Does "Bouri" here not mean "old?"

12. *Manaxor, Narandā, Pulgarī, suburbs of Dacca*.—Fr. C. Niard, C.S.C., wrote to me from Bishop's House, Dacca, (April 30, 1911): "About three quarters of a mile from our place, there is still a quarter called Narandā [*rie*]. I enquired whether there had been Christians there. A very old Mussulman told me that, when he was still a boy, there was a Christian living there, by name Chand. Nobody remembers having seen, or heard of, other Christians living there before or after. Narandā is close to the European Cemetery. Whether this fact has any connection with a former settlement of Christians, I could not ascertain. Not very far away from Narandā and closer to the river, there was a small French possession. Only one house there belongs at present to the French Government.

"I have not traced Pulgarī; but, about three quarters of a mile from Narandā, northwestwards, and a little more than a mile from our place, just close to the Railway Station, there is a quarter called Phulbarī, or Phulberia. In that place there were, not long ago, many Christians belonging to the Portuguese Mission. As there was no Church in their quarter, they attended at one of the two Portuguese Churches: the one in Bahur Bazar, half a mile from our place, and Tazgong, about three miles from here. Only two or three families remain. The others have died, or have gone elsewhere; some have become Mussulmans: of these three are still living, and the Mussulmans living in the place gave me their names."

In another letter from the same place (June 6, 1911), Fr. Niard added that there is still in Dacca a quarter called Monesahor, the real spelling of which would be Maneshwar; but, he could not tell me whether there survived there any reminiscences of an old Christian settlement. The Christians that might be there must belong to the Padroado jurisdiction.

It may be remarked that the *x* in Manaxor, as Manrique writes it, should be pronounced like *ā*.

13. *Augustinian Convent and Church at Dacca*.—Manrique visited Dacca in 1640. The Augustinian then at Dacca was Padre Fray Juan de la Trinidad. Cf. *Itinerario*, pp. 324-325. Thévenot (edn. of 1687, Pt. III, 68) writes: "The Augustinians have a Monastery there also." On the Augustinians at Dacca, cf. Tavernier, Ball's edn., I, 128 (A.D. 1666); Mammi (by W. Irvine), *Storia do Mogor*, II, 86, 86 n. 1, (A.D. 1663).

14. *Catars*.—The word represents *khatri*: the military caste. In the Panjab it is used currently for traders, though the *khatri* were originally of the fighting caste. In the Census Reports of Bengal many tradesmen return themselves as *khatri*. P. 18, col. 1.

In a letter from Bombay, Jan. 18, 1671 (O. S.), we have: "There are allsoe Cuttarees, another Sect Principally about Agra and those parts up the Country, who are as the Banian Gentooes here, and many of them are now mixt hereabouts, but they being principally of another Province, I have not Ranked them in this." Cf. *The Diary of W. Hedges*, by Col. H. Yule, II, 311.

"The second cast or tribe being the Cutteryes,.....were the Ancient Kings and Rulers of India.....called by the name of Raijah which signifieth a King.....having many resolute souldiers.....called Rashpootes, which implyeth as much as the Sonnes of Kings." Cf. Lord, *Discoverie of the Sect of the Banians*, 1630, pp. 76, 77, 82.

"The second caste is that of the Raspoutes or Ketris, that is to say, Warriors and warlike people.....But for the Ketris, they are degenerated from their Ancestors, and of soldiers are become Merchants." Cf. Tavernier, edn. of 1684, Vol. I, Pt. II, 161. Thévenot (London, 1687, Pt. III, 63) says: "The second is the tribe of the Catry or Raspoutes, who make profession of Arms."

15. *Mahnds*—*Mahind* (Pers.): month, monthly pay.

Sir Richard Temple remarks aptly that the Indian custom of monthly payments still obtains for every kind of servant, from highest to lowest, official, commercial and private. Cf. Bowrey's *A Geogr. Account*, p. 83, n. 4.

16. *Value of the Real*.—Abbate Tosi, translating this passage into Italian, makes the "real" equal to one julio (12 American cents).

Manrique distinguishes 2 reals. At p. 21, col. 2, he gives us the following equation: Re. 1 = $\frac{1}{2}$ peso = 4 Spanish reales. Hence, the real was worth 4 as. At p. 331, col. 1: 1 gold mohur = Rs. 13 = $6\frac{1}{2}$ pesos or reales of eight. Hence the real (ryall) of eight = 1 peso = Rs. 2.

The real, or "picee of 8 reals" of Seville, varied from about 4s. 6d. to 4s. 10d., the rupee being taken at 2s. 3d. "It should be remarked that there are three or four kinds of Spanish *real*," writes Tavernier, "and that they give for 100, according to their standard, from 208 up to 214 and 215 rupees. The best of all are the Sevillians, and when they are good weight you receive for 100, 213 rupees, and at certain times up to 215, according to whether silver is scarce or plentiful." Cf. Ball's edn., I, 24.

17. *Twenty turtle-doves for four annas*.—It would be easy to multiply instances of the cheapness of victuals in India about that time. Fr. Marco della Tomba wrote more than a century after Manrique concerning the neighbourhood of Patna. "From the time the English have made themselves masters of the country, India is ruined, and foodstuffs are dearer than ever. Where before one could get 60 or 70 fowls for a rupee, one gets only 4 or 5 to-day." A. de Gubernatis, the editor of some of Fr. Marco's Mss. (*Scritti del Padre Marco della Tomba*, Firenze, 1878, p. 36), commenting on the above passage, proposed to amend it to "6 or 7 fowls," instead of 60 or 70. Surely, he says, Marco could not refer to the gold mohur; for then 4 or 5 fowls would have fetched in his time more than 40 lire. On the other hand, he thinks the statement incredible if the silver rupee is meant. *Pax* de Gubernatis, Marco's assertion must be allowed to stand, but Padre Marco might have argued from the greater dearth of foodstuffs to the presence of greater wealth among the cultivating classes.

18. *Bacala*.—"It is certain," writes H. Beveridge, (cf. *The District of Bakarganj*, London, Tribner, 1876, pp. 26-27), "that the general name for much of the present district [of Bakarganj] was Bākla, and that the territory was ruled over by a Hindu family. This family was one of the twelve *Mayas* or rulers of Bengal, who were also poetically known as the twelve sons of Bengal. Its members are generally known by the name of Rajahs of Chandradwip, and their history has been given by me under that pargana.....This Bacola has entirely disappeared, and it is only a conjecture which identifies it with Kachua, the ancient seat of the Chandradwip Rajahs." It is mentioned as a Sarkar in the *Ann.* Ralph Fitch has a short description of the place in 1586. Cf. J. H. Riley, *Ralph Fitch*, p. 118. The place is often mentioned in the letters of the first Jesuit Missionaries in Bengal (1598-1602). H. Beveridge describes Kachua as a village on the right or west bank of the Titulia River, and in the Banfal thana of the Patayakhali sub-division. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 73, 78, 170, 179, 250.

19. *Solimanvār*.—This must be the present district of Selimābād, a very large pargana. "It comprises most of the land in the west central part of the district [of Bakarganj], and even extends across the Baleswar into the Baglahāt sub-division of the Jessore district. According to Professor Blochmann, this pargana was originally called Sulaimānābād, after Sulaiman Shah of Bengal, and he suggests that the name may have been changed to Selimābād in honour of Akbar's son, Prince Selim, afterwards known as Prince Jehāngir. I have, however, never seen it designated by any other name than Selimābād. It belonged to Sarkar Fathābād." Cf. H. Beveridge, *The District of Bakarganj*, pp. 118-119, 249, and Blochmann's *Contr. to Geogr. and Hist. of Bengal*, 1873, p. 10. Dr. J. Wise also places the Solimanvār of Manrique in Bakarganj.

In the case of *Solimanvār*, the ending *vār* appears to represent the *addā* of the Muhammadans, altered by the Hindus to a form they understood. As for Ilahābād, the reverse was the case. Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1904, p. 78. To Mr. R. Burn's remarks there on the forms of Allahābād, we may add that Thévenot and Valentyn wrote *Halabas*; Bernier, *Elabas*.

"In the introduction to a Sanskrit Dictionary, the author gives the following genealogy of his patron: Muchhā or Murchhā Khān, son of 'Isā Khān, son of Silamān Khān." (*Note by Rai Monmohan Chakravarti*). From the proximity of *Solimanvār* to the ancestral possessions of 'Isā Khān, we suggest that *Solimanvār* was thus called after 'Isā Khān's father.

20. *Catrābā*.—This place is identified by Mr. H. Beveridge with Katrabah or Katibāri near Sākhār, in the Mānikganj sub-division, where there is still a "tappa" called Kathorabo. Cf. *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1903, pp. 133-134. He proposes the same solution (*J. A. S. B.*, 1904, p. 62) after other attempts at identification. But, Dr. Wise had proposed a more satisfactory identification in *J. A. S. B.*, 1875, XLIV, p. 182. "Catrabo is Katrabo, now a 'tappa' on the Lakhya, opposite Khizpūr, which for long was the property of the descendants of 'Isā Khān Masnad-i-'Alī." According to Dr. Wise branches of the family are still settled at Katrabo. Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, p. 211. Khizpūr is located by Dr. Wise at 9 miles from Dacca

and three miles W. of Sonárgáon (*ibid.*, p. 212), the latter place being, according to local tradition, equivalent to Magrápárá. Cf. *Notes on Sundrgáon*, *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, p. 89. These conclusions of Dr. Wise are borne out by the fact that Van den Broecke's map (1658-1664?; cf. Valentyn, *Vde Deel*, Amsterdam, 1724) locates Catterabo below Sonárgáon. Fr. Francis Fernandez, S. J., visited Katrábo in 1599 from 'Siripur': "I went also on a tour to Cattrabo, which is in the lands of the Mousandolin [the Mamad-i-'Alí was then 'Isá Khán] to see whether there would be any means of making conversions; but I found that nearly all were Mahometans. There are also some foreign merchants, who come from, and go to, Agra, Lahor and other towns of the Great Mogor." (Cf. du Jarric, *Bowdena*, 1614, III, 829) Compare with R. Fitch's account of Sonárgáon (1586): "The chief King of all these countries was called Isacan [Isá Khán], and he is the chief of all the other Kings, and is a great friend to the Christians," many of whom, Portuguese and half-castes, were doubtless in his service by this time. Dr. Wise attached undue importance to Abbate Tosi's *Dell' India Orientale, Descriptione Geografica*....., Roma, 1669. Tosi never came to India. His account of Bengal is based on Manrique. He may have had before him contemporary maps, but the position he assigns to Tambolin (Tamluk) on the Meghna near Loricul and Siripur goes strongly against him. Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1875, p. 182. Ahul Fazl says that 'Isá Khán took Sonárgáon and Karábúh (some editions have Katrábúh) which was 'Isá's residence. *J. A. S. B.*, 1904, p. 58. I suggest that, with the decline of Sonárgáon, Katrábúh rose in importance and that it was close to Sonárgáon. Mr. H. Beveridge's identification of Katrábúh with Gorabon of Rennell's map, N. of Dacca, and a little N. of Ekdallab, on the right bank of the Lakhia or Banár, appears to me unacceptable. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 59.

"In this city (*en esta Ciudad*)," (Manrique), seems to relate to Cattrabo. No Church is mentioned there in Sicardo's account referring to 1682. I have not found in it any allusions, either, to a Church at Bakla or Solimariyá.

21. *Siripur and Noricul*.—The Church of Siripur is again referred to in 1640 at p. 323, col. 2 of Manrique's *Itinerario*. That of Noricul existed in 1682, as we see in Sicardo's *Christiandad del Japon*, Ch. III.

Loricul appears in Whitchurch's map (1769, printed 1776, Calcutta reprint 1868) as Luricull; in Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, 1791, Plate XVII, as Luricool, 13 miles W. of Chandpour, between Rajanagar and Mulfungunge. According to Blochmann, (cf. *Contributions to the Geogr. and Hist. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1873, p. 24), Loricul, the Noorkuly or Noricoel of Van den Broecke's map (1660) is Norikol, due south of Dacca, and a little south of the right bank of the Kirtinád. It is marked in Van den Broecke's map with a cross, like other Christian settlements. Manrique spells the name Noricul. It appears in Blaeuw's map (1650) in an island at the mouth of the Meghna, under the name Morculij. (Cf. Blochmann, *Op. cit.*, Plate IV). We find it spelt Merculij in de Harros' map of 1540. (Cf. *De Asia*, Dec. IV, Pt. II, Lisbon, 1777, p. 459). Finally, the place is written Ladhikol by Mahomedan authors. (Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1907, p. 407). In 1665, the Feringis of Ladhikol were engaged in the salt trade. The chief merchant on that side was Nicholas de Payva (1675), who in 1685 lived at Noricul. Cf. *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1915, Jan.—March, p. 46, & 1.

Rennell determines the position of Luricool very accurately. He wrote on Feb. 14, 1765: "The 14th in ye forenoon passed Luricule which is situated on the south side of the Creek. Luricule, once a remarkable Village, lies almost half way betwixt ye Ganges and Megna, is about 28 miles S $\frac{1}{4}$ W from Dacca, & 3 E S E from Rajanagore. Here are ye ruins of a Portuguese Church, & of many brick houses." (Cf. *The Journals of Major James Rennell*....., edited by T. H. D. La Touche, *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. III, No. 3, 1910, p. 39. Cf. also pp. 31, 135-136). Mr. La Touche's suggested derivation of the name of the place from the title of the Marquis of Lourical, Viceroy of Goa in 1741, is untenable, since the place was much older.

His identification of Luricule with Sripur Shahabunder is also an oversight. Rennell himself distinguishes on his map Luricool from Semmpur on the Meghna. The Augustinians had a Church at Noricul and another at Sripur or Sripur. The Muhammadan historians, too, distinguish Ladhikol from Sripur. (Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1907, pp. 407, 408). To determine the position of Sripur, which I believe to be identical with the Serrepore of Fitch, the Sherpur Feringhi of Van den Broecke's map, and the Setampoure of Rennell, the following may be useful. According to Fitch, Serrepore was six leagues from Sonárgáon, and the King of the place was called Choudery. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Chowdry. (By the way, the Choudery of Fitch is, perhaps, Chand Rái of Bikrampur. *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, p. 202). Fr Francis Fernandez, S. J., wrote from Syripur, Jan. 14, 1599: "Syripur is a settlement pertaining to the great port" [Porto Grande, Chittagong]. Cf. *Novæ Relatió Historica de rebus in Ind. Orient.....gestis*, by N. Pimenta, Moguntiae, MDCL, p. 15. The place had a Portuguese Bander, and the king was called Cedarai (Kedar Rái), the name of the Choudery of Fitch, or of his successor. Cf. *Exemplum epistolae P. N. Pimenta.....Anno 1600 datæ*, Moguntiae, 1602, p. 81. Chandpur was opposite the outpost of Sripur across the river, say the Muhammadan historians in 1665. Sangramgar was 21 kos from it. "From Dacca to Chatgaon [Chittagong] six creeks (*bahar*) have to be crossed in boats; one of them is the river of Sripur, which is so broad that a boat can perform only one trip across and back in the whole day." Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1907, pp. 420, 421. Dr. Wise, an excellent authority, places it at the junction of the Meghna and the Padda or 'Kirtumússá'. He writes: "Near Rájábárl, where these two great rivers meet, an island called Sripur has always existed. There is still a tradition that it was formerly a great place of trade. At the present day, this island has joined on to the main land and is called Sripur Tek, i.e., Sripur Point. There was formerly a custom-house here, where *sápur*, or transit duties were collected by the government." Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, p. 86. Elsewhere, Dr. Wise wants Sripur to have been close to Bikrampur, the seat of Chand Rái and Kedar Rái. *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, p. 202. Against this, I see no objection. Sripur must be the same as Bander, below Sornagáon [Sonárgáon], in Blaeuw's map, reproduced by Blochmann (*Contrib. to the Geogr. and Hist. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1873, or *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, Pt. I). I do not, however, lose sight of the fact that Blaeuw places Sripur on the E. side of the Meghna. Even de Barros' map mentions a Bandar, S. of Dacca and Sonárgáon, but N. E. of the junction of the "Caor River" with the Meghna. Making allowance for the great divergences exhibited by these early maps, the Bandar of de

Barnes and Blauw occupies very nearly the position assigned by Van den Broecke to Cattambo; on the other hand, V. d. Broecke distinguishes Cattambo and Sharpoer Firinghi. In the Jesuit letters of 1599-1601 Cattambo and Sitipur are likewise different.

22. *Mulla*.—*Mullā* (Arab.) : A Muhammadan lawyer or doctor; also in India, a schoolmaster.

23. *Mulla's slaughtering animals*.—"No animal, except fish and locusts, is lawful food unless it be slaughtered according to the Muhammadan law, namely, by drawing the knife across the throat and windpipe, the carotic arteries, and the gullet, repeating at the same time the words '*Bismillahi, Allahu-Akbar*,' i. e., 'in the name of God; God is Great.' A clean animal, so slaughtered, becomes lawful food for Muslims, whether slaughtered by Jews, Christians, or Muhammadans, but animals slaughtered by either an idolater, or an apostate from Islam, is not lawful." Cf. Hughes' *Dict. of Islam* s. v. food.—It is still the custom among Indian Muhammadans to have animals slaughtered by Mullās.

24. *Dravides*.—*Darvesh* (Pers.) : a religious mendicant. It is synonymous with *faqir* (Arab.)

25. *Pir* (Pers.) : a saint, a spiritual guide.

26. *Caffars*.—*Kāfir* (Arab.) : an unbeliever in Islam, an infidel.

27. *Xeqes*.—*Shāikh* (volg. *Shekh*, Arab.) : a venerable old man, a chief, a prelate.

P. 19, col. 1.

28. *Aram, a mortal sin*.—*Harām* (Arab.) : unlawful, forbidden.

29. *The Forchan or Alcoran*.—*Al-Furqān* : one of the titles of the *Koran*.

30. The text has *Xasiahān, a Janguir*; but *Xasiahān* is corrected to *Zia-bianguir* [Jahāngir] among the errata.

31. *Mainas*.—Cf. ante Note 15, Ch. V.

32. *Nacassars or Royal treasures*.—Not in *Hobson-Jobson*. Compare with *nihās* (Sanskrit : adjustment of accounts; *nihāsi* : taxes collected on goods passing out of a town, export duties; *nihāsi namō* : an officer in the *zamindār kachari*, who takes and examines the accounts of the collections in the *amfassi*).

The word is perhaps a compound of *nihāsi* and *khālī* : a house, a place. V. A. Smith, coming across this same word in Manrique, asks whether it can be derived from *nihāsi*=register. Cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1915 (April), p. 256 = 1.

33. *The Augustinians refuse regular incomes from Asiatic Princes*.—There is nothing in the canons forbidding such acceptance; but it may be according to the spirit of religious institutes to eschew similar favours. Shāh Abbas of Persia offered 400 tomāns=16,000 pardaws of Goa, to the Augustinians of Ispahan, but they refused to accept them. The King of Spain assigned to them a yearly subsidy from the custom house of Congo, a harbour in Persia. *Annals Marit* 1843, p. 383, states that the Convent of Ispahan received yearly 2500 xetafins from the Estado. On the other hand, how shall we explain the gift of 777 bighās of land made to the Convent of Bandel either by Shāh Jahān (1633) or Sultan Sujā' (1646)?

P. 19, col. 2.

34. *Religious expelled*.—To what countries and Religious does Manrique allude?

33. *Trade forbidden to Priests.*—Priests and religious are forbidden to trade by the canons. The charge of trading, particularly in diamonds, will often be found in the old travellers, e.g., Tavernier, a dealer in diamonds himself, and one very keen on his business; but, the cases he alleges are suspicious. Cf. Ball's edn., II. 340.

I do not know of any authenticated case of Religious insisting that all the goods should pass through their hands; it cannot be denied, however, that the synods were repeatedly obliged to remind priests of the canons forbidding every form of trade. The wonder often should be: What had they to live on? Cf. *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, App. I, p. 273, Decr. XIII (A.D. 1599).

NOTES TO CH. VI.

1. *The twelve Provinces of Bengal.*—To be identified thus: Bengal, Hijili, Orissā, Jessore, (the original text has "Jagamotte" corrected to "Jassor" in the errata), Chāndkhān, Medinipūr (Midnapūr), Katrābūh, Baklā, Sulaimānābād, Bhālā, Dhākā, Rājmalal.

P. 20, col. 1,
infra.

Rajamol.—At p. 333, col. 2, we have: "Rajamol, or according to the Hindustani pronunciation, Ragmehel." At p. 415, col. 2: "Rajamol or Ragmehel." Manrique's second spelling seems to be a survival of the earlier name A'g Mahal. Cf. Blochmann's *Contributions to the Geogr. and Hist. of Bengal* (Reprinted from *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, Pt. II, Calcutta, 1873, p. 15).

Manrique returns to the subject of the geography of Bengal in his description of the 37 Provinces of the Moghul Empire (Ch. LXXVI, p. 415): "The thirty-seventh Province is the very large one of *Bengala* which includes in its extent and amplitude the twelve kingdoms, which I have said, the petty kings of which the natives call *the twelve Baiones*, about whom I have also given an account. All its lands are most fertile and fruitful. Its chief cities are *Daach*, or *Dass*, *Rajamol*, or *Ragmehel*, *Medinipur*, *Burdwan*, *Katrāb*, *Cateua*. Its most frequented harbours are *Vgulim*, founded by the Portuguese; *Pipile* in the Kingdom of *Ourixa*; and *Bahacur* in the same kingdom. It has other harbours; but, as they are less frequented, they are less known....."

2. *Bengalque Padchā.*—The word 'Padchā' appears to be treated here as an honorific plural: hence, the ending 'que' in 'Bengalque,' representing *de*, rather than *da*, of the Hindustani genitive. We have another instance of this in 'Delique Padchā' of our *Itinerario*, p. 354, Col. 1.

3. *The city of Gouro* (Gaur).—Cf. Chapters LIII, LIV. There is little there about the ruins themselves, though Manrique visited them (end of 1640). He enlarges instead on a sensational discovery made some 3 months before his arrival. A shepherd had discovered in a subterraneous passage among the ruins three large copper vessels, two of them so large and heavy with gold mohurs and rupees that it required two men to lift one. They gave notice to the Nawāb of Dacca, Shāh Shujā' then at Rājmalal. The three copper vessels were removed to Rājmalal, and the smaller one was found to contain 3 kroris worth of precious stones. The Mirā, who was

appointed after this to guard the ruins related himself the story to Manrique. He had superintended the removal of the treasure.

P. 20, col. 2,
infra.

4. *The twelve Rajas or Bhujas of Bengal*.—My notes on the subject ran to such length that I published them separately in *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, pp. 437-449. I refer the curious to those notes. I shall add to them here that R. D. Banerji, has lately described (*Archæol. Survey of India, Annual Report, 1911-12*, pp. 167-170) a coin struck in Chandradvipa (Shaka 1339) and two others from Pāndunagara (Shaka 1336 and 1339). Chandradvipa was the property of the *Bhujā* of Baklā, and the town of Manrique's *Bhujā* of "Bengal" might be represented in Pāndua (modern Pārū, a station on the Katihar-Godagiri Section of the Eastern Bengal Railway) rather than in Tāndā, as I had at first proposed.

Professor Satish Chandra Mitra, Hindu Academy, Daulatpur, P. O., Khulna, writes to me (Dec. 27, 1915), to say that he has quotations "from both Sanskrit and Bengali books to show that a peculiar meaning is attached to "twelve" is the expression *Bārah Bhujas* or 'Twelve Lords.' In ancient India, Kings were generally surrounded by twelve other Kings. One of the oldest law books, the *Manusmṛiti*, refers to the practice. In many other books, whenever the court of a powerful monarch is described, he is said to have been surrounded by twelve underlords. A general court-house or hall of public audience is called a *Bārah Dvārī*, or twelve-doored house. There were *Bārah Dvārīs* in the capital cities of all former Kings. There is still at Chandernagor a place called *Bārah Dvārī*."

My notes in *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, pp. 437-449, show that the expression "twelve underlords" was used in Bengal, Arakan, Burma, Assam, Nepal, Udaipur and Malabar. I have since found the expression used in connection with the Telugu country, for in a French Ms. translation by the late Fr. Rassat, M. S. F. S., Vizagapatam Mission, of the Telugu poem on the King of Bobbili and de Bussy, Haidar "All is called the suzerain of the twelve Kings of the Telugu country. In Arakan, the twelve underlords were "crowned" before the King's "coronation."

The wide recurrence of the number 12 in the same connection is evidently not the effect of hazard. It points to an institution which had struck its roots far and wide. Let someone investigate this point and devise an explanation.

Manrique's "Bhujā of Bengal," who formerly resided at Gaur (whatever may have been the name of his capital in Manrique's time, Pāndua or Tāndā), seems to have been the 12th Bhujā, for only 11 others are mentioned. It is, perhaps, significant that in du Jarric's list of the 12 sub-kings of the Kings of Pegu, we get only 10 names, Truco standing for Nos. 8 and 9, and Cahlan for Nos. 10 and 11.

Though it is a far cry from the Kings of India to those of Macedon, we may point out that, according to Diodorus Siculus, Philip of Macedon had his statue carried round in solemn procession with those of the 12 gods in order to show that he was comparable to them in power. Cf. *J. R. A. S.*, April 1916, p. 351, quoted by A. Berrisdale Keith in *The unlucky number 13*.

P. 21, col. 1.

5. *Hindu debtors sold as slaves*.—"The Kotwal arrested both debtors and sureties, and brought them before the Kāzi; and if the debt was not satisfied, both debtors and sureties were imprisoned and fettered, or sold into slavery, together with their

wives and children. This barbarous custom existed in all Moghal countries, and exists to this day in the dominions of the King of Burma." Cf. J. Talboys Wheeler, *Hist. of India*, 1881, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 423; Pyrard de Laval, *Hakl. edn.*, I, p. 223. Muhammadans, it seems, could not be sold into slavery.

6. *Scented rice*.—One of the scented rices was known to the Portuguese as "Girasall" from the Mahr. "jiresāl"=cummin-(like) rice, thus called from its smell. Cf. van Linschoten, *Hakl. edn.*, I, 245 n. 9. P. 21, col. 2.

7. *Candil*.—A weight used in S. India, which may be stated roughly at 500 lbs., but varying much in different parts. It corresponded broadly with the Arabian *bahār*, and was generally equivalent to 20 maunds, varying therefore with the maund. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Candy and Bahar. According to Valentyn, *V^{de} Deel*, 1726, p. 26, at Masulipatam: 20 measures=1 candil; 3 candils=5 Parren Milli; $\frac{1}{2}$ Parra milli= $\frac{1}{17}$ of the Parra of rice; 1 parra=48 lbs. At Palacate, the weights and measures were again different. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 70. In Bengal, the candi=1,200 lbs. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 179, where a list of the coins, weights and measures used in Bengal will be found. The subject has at all times been most perplexing.

8. *Parra and salamin*.—The salamin or salamin, according to Portuguese Dictionaries, was a dry measure answering to our peck and not much different from it in quantity. The peck= $\frac{1}{4}$ bushel=8 quarts for grain, pulse, etc. In Singhalese, *Miya* is defined as a *parrah* containing 24 *neliyas* or a quarter of a bushel. On the other hand, Mr. D. Ferguson wrote that the *parrah* is in Ceylon a measure for rice, equal to 30 heaped *ser*, the *ser* being 'a measure of capacity about equal to a quart.' Cf. W. Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, IV, 443. In Manrique the *parā* is equivalent to 2 *salamin*.

"The weight of Goa is also in divers kinds, as in Portugal, with Quintales, Arrobas [*Al-roô* (Arab.)=quarter], and poundes. They have likewise another weight called Mao [*ma* (Hind.) maund] which is a Hand, and is twelve pounds, with which they weigh Butter, Honey, Sugar, and all kinds of wares (to be solde) by weight. They have likewise a weight wherewith they weigh Pepper and other spices, called a Bhar, and is as much as three Quintales and a halfe, Portugall weight. They have a measure called Medida, that is to say even weight. It is about a spanne high and halfe a finger broad, whereof 24 measures are a Hand, and 10 Handes are one Candil, and one Candil is little more or lesse than 14 Bushels, wherewith they measure Rye, Come, and all graine....." Cf. van Linschoten, *Hakl. edn.*, I, p. 245.

In the valuable notes by Sir Richard Temple to Bowrey's *Geogr. Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal*. (Cf. Index, "weights and measures,") this subject of weights and measures has been carried somewhat further than where Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* left it.

9. $\frac{1}{2}$ peso=4 reals of Spain, not the real of eight, which=1 peso=R. 2.

10. *Contaro*=12 *Asumbres*.—Contaro means a large narrow-mouthed pitcher, and the quantity of liquid which may be contained in it. The contaro of Florence=150 lbs.; in other parts of Italy it was more or less. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Bahar, where de Varthema states in 1510 that the bahar "weighs three of our contari."

The azumbre is described as a measure of liquids = $\frac{3}{8}$ of an arroba = $\frac{1}{16}$ a gallon, English measure.

The arroba was a Spanish weight of 25 lbs. each containing 16 oz. ; also a Spanish measure containing 32 pints. Supposing these data correct, 1 cantaro = 12 azumbres = $\frac{12 \times 25}{8}$ lbs. = 75 lbs.

11. *Fardel (Farle)*.—Anthony Vieira Transtegano's *Dict. of the Engl. and Port. Languages*, London, J. Nourse, 1773, says that the *fardel* in India is a weight of 42 Portuguese pounds. The other meaning of "bale, pack of goods" is perhaps more appropriate here. The *arroba* is defined as 32 Portuguese pounds of 16 oz. each. It requires a specialist to discuss these points of weights and measures at different periods and in different places.

12. *A cow for Re. 1 or less; 25 fowls for Rs. 2*.—A cow, then, cost only Re. 1, against 20 or 25 fowls costing Rs. 2. In Camar de' Federici's time (before 1581) things were so cheap in the island of Sundiva, at the mouth of the Meghna, "that we were amazed at the cheapness thereof. I bought many salted kine there for the provision of the ship for half a *Larine* a piece, which *Larine* may be 12 shillings 6 pence, being very good and fat, and 4 wilde hogges ready dressed for a *Larine*; great fat hennes for a *Biese* [piece?] a piece, which is at the most a penny; and the people told us that we were deceived the half of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sack of rice for a thing of nothing, and consequently all other things for humane sustenance were there in such abundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that have seen it." Quoted from Blochmann's *Contributions to the Geogr. and Hist. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1873, p. 22. "An ox or a cowe is there [in Bengal, circa 1598] to be bought for one *Larinj*, which is as much as half a *Gilderne*. Sheepe, hens, and other things after the like rate, a *Candit* [sic] of Ryce, which is as much, little more or lesse, as fourtene bushelles [of Flemmish measure] is sold there for half a *Gilderne*, and [for] halfe a *doller*: Sugar and other ware accordingly, whereby you may well conceive what plentie they have." Cf. van Linschoten, *Hakl* edn., I, p. 94.—"5 *Laris* are equal to a *piastre* or *putacca* of reals of Spain, or 'piece of eight' as we choose to call it." (1623). P. della Valle, *Hakl* edn., II, p. 434 quoted from *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Larin*. Since the real of 8 was equal to Rs. 2, a *larin* was $\frac{1}{2}$ of Rs. 2 in 1623, or less than half a rupee.

Some prices had gone up in Bowrey's time. "A very good cowe is sold [in Bengala] for foure shillings six pence, vizt., 2 rupees, a good hogge for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a rupee, 45 or 50 fowls for one rupee." Cf. Bowrey, *Geogr. Account*, pp. 193-194 (A. D. 1669-79).

"For a single roupie twenty or more good fowls may be bought [in Bengal, A. D. 1666]. Geese and ducks are proportionately cheap." Cf. Bernier, *Constable's* edn., p. 438.—"They sold us cows at a cheap rate [in Assam, circa 1663], for we did not pay above two shillings [Re. 1] for the best." Cf. *A Relation of an Unfortunate Voyage to the Kingdom of Bengala*, by Mr. Glanville, London, 1682, p. 170. Captain Alex. Hamilton, writes (*ante* 1728) about the island of 'Sundiva' (Sandwip)

near the Meghna. "I was credibly informed by one that wintered there, that he bought 380 pound weight of rice for a rupee, or half a crown, eight geese for the same money, and sixty good tame poultry for the same, and cloth is also incredibly cheap, it is but thinly inhabited." *A new Account of the East Indies*, London, 1744, II. pp. 23-24.

In Manrique's time, then, it was 20 turtle-doves or 15 wild pigeons for $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee, and 20 or 25 fowls for Rs. 2; in Bowrey's, 45 or 50 fowls for Rs. 1; about the same in Bernier's; in Fr. Marco della Tomba's time (circa 1760), 60 or 70 fowls for Rs. 1; at Masulipatam 35 fowls for Rs. 1. (Cf. Bartol. Ferro, *Istoria delle Missioni de' Chierici Regolari Teatini*, Roma, 1704, II, p. 373; letter of Fr. Gius. Gaetano Bergamoro, Masulipatam, 25th Jan. 1676).

Curious instances of cheapness occur still. In 1906-07, one of our Missionaries wrote to me that he had bought a cow for Rs. 2 as 8 and sold the hide for Rs. 3. This happened at Kurdeg, Biru, Chota Nagpur.

13. *Wine from jaggry*.—Jaggery is a coarse brown (or almost black) sugar, made from the sap of various palms, usually in the form of small round cakes. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Jaggery, toddy, cargota.

P. 24, col. 1.

"What is called in Southern India puttay arrack or pariah liquor is distilled from a fermented solution of jaggery, the coarse sugar obtained from the juice of the date, coconut, palmyra and other palms, or from the sugar-cane." Cf. *A Manual of the Administ. of the Madras Presid.*, Madras, 1893, III s. v. Arrack.

14. *Scented oils from Malabar*.—"There is likewise exported from Bengal much scented oils, got from a certain grain, and divers flowers: these are used by all the Indians after bathing to rub their bodies withal." Cf. Pyzard de Laval, *Hakl. edn.*, I. p. 328.

15. *Cassas or muslin*.—Sir Richard Temple defines khāsa: "a cotton cloth still used in India, softer than long cloth, and closer than muslin." Cf. Bowrey, *Geogr. Account*, p. 230 n. 2. In the *Ala* we have *khāsa* in a list of cotton cloths. Mr. Taylor describes it as a muslin of a close fine texture and identifies it with the fine muslin, which, according to the *Ala* (II. 124) was produced at Sondrgāon. The editor of the new edition of *Hobson-Jobson* writes: "This perhaps represents the Ar. khāsa, 'special.'" To derive it from *ganz* (Span.), *capa* (Port.) and our gauze is perhaps preposterous. Our own "gauze" is generally said to be from Gaza, a town in Palestine where it is supposed to have been first manufactured.

16. *Coramie*.—Khurāsān.


P. 25, col. 2.

17. *Extreme delicacy of Dacca muslins*.—Dacca was famous for its muslins. Throughout Central Asia the word Dāka is applied to all muslins imported through Kābul. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Dacca and Muslin. * Muhammad Ali Beg, when returning to Persia from his embassy to India, presented Chā Sefī III with a coconut of the size of an ostrich egg, enriched with precious stones, and when it was opened a turban was drawn from it 60 cubits in length, and of a muslin so fine that you would scarcely know what it was that you had in your hand. On returning from one of my voyages, I had the curiosity to take with me an ounce of thread, of which a livre's weight cost 600 mahimdis [about £22 10s.], and the late Queen-Dowager,

with many of the ladies of the Court, was surprised to see a thread so delicate which almost escaped the view." Cf. Tavernier, Ball's edn., Vol. II, pp. 7-8.

18. *Male bamboos*.—"Bamboos are sometimes popularly distinguished (after a native idiom) as male and female, the latter embracing all the common species with hollow stems, the former title being given to a certain kind (in fact a species of a distinct genus, *Dendrocalamus strictus*), which has a solid or nearly solid core, and is much used for bludgeons (see 'latter') and spear-shafts. It is remarkable that this popular distinction by sex was known to Ctesias (c. B. C. 400)." Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Bamboo.

19. *Thickness of bamboos*.—An endeavour was made in Pegu in 1855 to procure the largest obtainable bamboo. It was a little over 10 inches in diameter. Cusius saw two specimens at the University of Leyden, 30 ft. long and from 14 to 16 inches in diameter. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Bamboo.

20. *Bamboos worth from Rs. 200 to Rs. 300*.—P. della Valle writes in the same strain: "And these two, the palankins and the andors [a kind of doli] also differ from one another, for in the andor the cane which sustains it is, as it is in the fell, straight, whereas in the palankin, for the greater convenience of the inmate, and to give more room for raising his head, the cane is arched upwards like this, . For this purpose, the canes are bent when they are small and tender. And those vehicles are the most commodious and honourable that have the curved canes, for such canes of good quality and strength to bear the weight, are not very numerous; so they sell for 100 or 120 pardnos each or about 60 of our scudi." Cf. Brighton edn., 1843, II, p. 613, quoted by Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. andor. See illustrations in van Linschoten, edn. of 1598. In the *Ala*, there is question of a kind of bamboo sold at 8 Ashrafis (Mohurs) per pièce. "They are used for making thrones." Cf. Blochmann's transl., I, p. 224. Compare also Pyrard de Laval, Hakl. edn., I, 329, and van Linschoten, Hakl. edn., I, p. 91-92.

(Circa 1666). "Les Pambous qui servent aux Palanquins, sont de grosses canes rondes de cinq à six pouces de diamètre, & de quatre toises de longueur, courbées en voûtes dans le milieu, en sorte qu'il reste de chaque côté après la courbure, un bout fort droit, qui est long de cinq à six pieds..... Ces macloues sont fort chères, & il y en a dont le seul Pambou coûte plus de cent escus." Cf. *Voyages de Mr. de Thvenot*, Paris, Binsakina, M.DC. LXXXIV, Ch. 31, pp. 158-159. The whole chapter deals with Agra-costumes, and is worth studying.

(1755) "Pour Courber le Bambou, on ajuste dessus, lorsqu'il est jeune, un murle le long duquel il croît dans la forme qu'on veut lui donner. Celui dont la courbure approche le plus du demi-cercle, est le plus cher; (il y en a qui vont à cinquante pagodes)." Cf. Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, I (rèrè Partie), XXII-XXIII, note.

21. *Our boys the bhalls of India*.—Manrique is wrong here in his derivation. The word "boy=servant," has nothing to do with the Spanish *bucy*=ox, bullock. It is the name of a palankin-bearer, from the name of the caste, Telugu and Malayâl *bôyi*, Tam. *bôvi*, &c. Wilson gives *bhoi* as Hindi and Mahr. Pyrard de Laval (1619) speaks of gentoos who are "comme Crocheteurs et Porte-faix, qu'ils appellent Boye,

c'est à dire Bœuf, pour porter quelque-pesât fardeau que ce soit." Edn. of 1676, II. p. 27.

"Pyrard's fanciful interpretation 'ox,' *Port. bul*, may be due either to himself or to some Portuguese friend who would have his joke. It is repeated by Boullaye le Gouz (p. 211), who finds a parallel indignity in the use of the term *mullets* by the French gentry towards their chair-men." Cf. Pyrard de Laval, Hakl. edn., II, Pt. I. p. 44 n. 2., and *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Boy.

22. *Asphon*.—Opium, specially cultivated near Patná

23. *Poto*.—Bernier writes: "ponst." *Post* (Pers.): a poppy-plant; also a decoction of the milky juice of the poppy, often given by the Moghul Emperors to state prisoners to reduce them to a slow death. The drink emaciated the victims; they lost their strength and intellect by slow degrees, became torpid and senseless, and died at length. Cf. Bernier, Constable's edn., 1891, pp. 106, 106 n. 1.

24. *Opium as an aphrodisiac*.—For similar accusations and methods, Cf. van P. 23, col. 1.
Linschoten, I, p. 214; II, pp. 93, 113-114, 115-117, and Mandelslo in *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Bang.

25. *Free peso! weight of opium eaten*.—Garcia de Orta (1563) "knew a Secretary of Nizamora, a native of Coraçon [Khurāsān] who every day eat three *allaz*, or a weight of 10½ cruzados.....though he was a well-educated man, and a great scribe and notary, he was always dozing or sleeping; yet if you put him to business he would speak like a man of letters and discretion; from this you may see what habit will do." Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. opium.

26. *Opium with oil fatal*.—This is correct. In many cases of suicide by opium-eating, the opium is mixed with oil to hasten its fatal effects.

27. *Opium-eating a necessity*.—"Hee that useth to eato it, must eato it daylin, otherwise he dieth and consumeth himselfe, [when] they begin to eato it, and are used unto it, [they heate at the least] twenty or thirty grains in waight [everie day], sometimes more; but if for foure or five dayes hee chanceth to leave it, he dieth without faile....." Cf. van Linschoten, Hakl. edn., II, p. 113.

28. *Bhangue*.—*Bhang* (Hind.): the dried leaves and small stalks of hemp (*Cannabis indica*), used to cause intoxication, either by smoking, or when eaten mixed up into a sweetmeat called *majoon* (*mājan*). Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Bang.

The narcotic is derived from "the young tops and unfertilised female flowers, *gānjā* (or *gānjā*), and the older leaves and fruit-vessels, *bhang*." Cf. Watt, *Dict. of Economic Products of India*, s. v. Cannabis (Calcutta, 1889-1893).

29. *Mental troubles caused by bhang*.—Bowrey and some eight or ten of his P. 23, col. 2.
English friends tried their pint of "hangha" in Bengal with the following strange results: "It soon tooke it's Operation Upod most of us, but merrily. Save upon two of our Number, who I Suppose feared it might doe them harme not being accustomed thereto. One of them Sat himselfe downe Upon the floore, and wept bitterly all the Afternoone: the Other terrified with feare did runne his head into a great Martavan [Martaban, Pegu] Jarre, and continued in that Posture 4 hours or more, 4 or 5 of the number lay upon the Carpets (that were Spread in the roome) highly Complimentinge each Other in high termes, each man fancyinge himselfe noe less than an Emperour.

One was quarrelsome and fought with one of the wooden Pillars of the Porch, untill he had left himselfe little Skin upon the knuckles of his fingers. My Selfe and one more Sat sweatinge for the Space of 3 hours in Exceedinge Measure." Prudently "we.....made fast all dores and Windows, that none of us might runne out into the Street, or any person come in to behold any of our humors thereby to laugh at us." Cf. *A Geogr. Description*, pp. 80-81.

30. *Ambar*.—For a note on ambergris, and the fable long connected with its origin, Cf. Pytard de Laval, Hakl. edn., I, p. 229.

31. *Almisre*.—From the Arabic *al-misk*, according to Dr. Burnell. Prof. H. Kern derives it from *mushka* (Sanskrit). Cf. van Linschoten, Hakl. edn., v.

¹From Neopall [Nepal] comes Muske which at Pattana is sold for 49 r. per Seere being 16 Pice to the Seere 40 of which Pice make a great seere of about 31 oz." Cf. Marshall's *Notes and Observations*, Ms., quoted from Sir Richard Temple in Bowrey's *A Geogr. Description*, p. 134.

32. *Bhāng strengthened*.—Bhāng was often mixed with areca, nutmegs and mace, says van Linschoten. "Others (that is to saye, the rich and welthy persons) mix it with cloves, camphora, Ambar, Muske and Opium." *Idem*, Hakl. edn., II, p. 115.

NOTES TO CH. VII.

P. 24, col. 1.

1. *The Bengalas not white*.—I have not succeeded in identifying the Italian who is the author of the opposite statement. Neither Varthema nor Cesar de' Federici is responsible for it.

2. *The Bengalas black like the Chingalas*.—van Linschoten (Hakl. edn., I, p. 94) takes the contrary view. "The naturall borne people of Bengala are in a manner like those of Seylon, but somewhat whiter than the Chingalas."

3. The custom has not changed.

4. Four reals = Re. 1.

P. 24, col. 2.

5. *Axoras*.—The modern spelling is *ajora* (Span. derived from Arab.); gold and silver rings worn by Moorish women about the wrists and ankles. The word bangle (Hind. *bangri*) is applied to any native ring-bracelet and also to an anklet. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Bangle.

6. *Nose-ring in the left nostril*.—"Hindis as well as Muhammadan women generally wear the nose-ring in the left nostril. But, to protect a child from the influence of the evil-eye, the right nostril of babies is pierced. This is always done when several children of the same mother have died successively in their infancy." (*Note by Pandit Gobindlall Bonnarjee*)

7. *Gansa*.—*Kāṣṭh* or *Kāṣa* (Sanskrit); bell-metal, white copper or brass. According to some of the old European travellers, it was lead; according to others a mixed metal. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Gansa.

8. *Morisco loton*.—The modern spelling is *laton* (Span.), *latão* or *latam* (Port.) *laiton* (French); latten, a fine kind of brass or bronze anciently used for crosses, candlesticks, crosses of sepulchral monuments. What is "Morisco loton" = Moorish latten?

9. *A passion for jewels*.—Compare Fryer, *A new Account*.....(1672-1681), London, 1698, p. 31: "Their [the Gentoo] Women are manacled with Chains of Silver, (or Fetters rather) and hung with Ear-rings of Gold and Jewels, their Nooses stretch'd with weighty Jewels, on their Toes Rings of Gold, about their Waste a painted Clout, over their Shoulders they cast a mantle; their Hair tied behind their Head (which both in men and women is naturally very long): a-top a Coronet of Gold beset with stones."

10. *Calaim, a sort of tin*.—From the Arab *Kala'i*=tin. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Calay.

"Le calaim est une espece de metal, qui vient de la Chine, semblable à l'estain, combien qu'il ne le soit pas, ayant beaucoup de melange de cuivre; mais il est blanc et on en faict de la monnoye en l'Inde: on le dore aussi come l'argent." Cf. du Jarric (French edn.), III, p. 36. See also Pycard de Laval, *Hakl. edn.*, I, p. 235 n. 1.

11. *Cabaya*.—This word is derived from *kabā* (Arab) vesture, in Barbary, 'kabāya,' and was probably introduced into India under this form by the Portuguese, whose writers in the 16th century apply it to the surcoat or long tunic of muslin, one of the commonest native garments of the better classes in India. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Cabaya.

12. *Manner of tying and closing the Cabaya*.—"The coats used now-a-days both by Hindūs and Muhammadans resemble in shape our dressing-gowns (Germ. *schlafrock*), but siting tight where the lower ribs are. There the coat is tied; the Muhammadans make the tie on the *left*, and the Hindūs on the *right* side." Cf. Blochmann, *Ala* (transl.), I, p. 83 n. 2.—The *Ala* says (*ibid.*): "The *Tabauchiyah* is a coat without lining, of the Indian form. Formerly it had slits in the skirt, and was tied on the *left* side; His Majesty [Akbar] had ordered it to be made with a round skirt, and to be tied on the *right* side." P. 25, col. 1.

General Cunningham tried to prove from the fact that the garments of the statues of "Jaymal" and "Patta" at Delhi are fastened on the *right* side that they represented Hindūs and not Muhammadans; but, J. H. Marshall answers to this that "any one who takes the trouble to look at contemporary pictures of the Mughals will see that all classes of Moslems at that date, from Emperors to mahouts, made a general practice of fastening their garments on the *right* side, so that the evidence, such as it is, is the reverse of what General Cunningham states." Cf. *Arch. Survey of India (Report of 1905-06)*, 1909, p. 42.

"The present custom of the Hindūs is to fasten their coats on the *right* side of the chaplans, while the Muhammadans do so on the *left*. This is an old custom. My father, an old man of 75, saw this custom when he was a boy." (*Note by Rai Monmohan Chakravarti*, 1911.) I have not pushed further my inquiries into these conflicting statements. There is in Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*) a passage, which I cannot now find, about the way he used to close his cabaya.

13. *Isars with folds like a French hose*.—*Isar* (Pers.): drawers, trousers. Watson says that in some places it is peculiar to men, the women's drawers being *turwar*. Herklots (*Qanoon-e-Islam*, App. XIV) gives *cesar* as equivalent to *shulwar*, like the *pyjamma*, but not so wide. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. piece-goods.

"Le calçon des Indiens est pour l'ordinaire de toile de coton. Il vient aux uns jusqu'à my-jambe, & d'autres le portent plus long, en sorte qu'il descend jusqu'à la cheville du pied. Ceux qui se piquent d'être richement vêtus, portent des calçons d'étoffe de soye rayée de différentes couleurs, qui sont si longs qu'ils leur font faire plusieurs plis sur la jambe, de la même manière à peu près qu'on ajustoit autrefois les bas de soye en France." Cf. *Voyages de Mr. de Thévénat*, Paris, Bizekins, M.D. CLXXXIV, Ch. 20, p. 124.

14. *A Bengali proverb*.—In the original: "Quien mārē Thākār, quien non mārē Cūter," (*lit.* he who strikes is master; he who does not strike is a dog). The proverb is still heard: *Mārē, Thākār; na mārē, kachār*. (Hind.) For the use of "Thakoor," Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.

P. 25, col. 2.

15. *Hindu ceremonial before meals*.—*Chaukō patlā* (Hind.) is to prepare with cow-dung dissolved in water the place in which Hindūs dress their food.

16. *Cantā*.—*Kantāl* (Sanskrit), which according to the dictionaries=*syutakar-putā*=a stitched coverlet, a quilt.

17. *Xagā*.—*Sāga* (Sanskrit): greens, edible vegetables.

18. *Tabā on meats*.—*Bahrī*: a goat (generally).

"The Hindūs of the upper classes do not eat wild boars, wood-pigeons, quails, turtle-doves, etc. Wild boars (*swayā mardhū*) are permissible, if killed during hunting." (*Note by Rai Monmohan Chakravarti*).

P. 26, col. 1.

19. *Tabā on red vegetables*.—van Linchoten (Hakl. edn., I, p. 254) writes of the "Gazarātes and Banianos [*jāla*] of Cambaia": "They eat no Radishes, Onions, Garlicke, nor any kinde of hearbe, that hath any colour of red [in it], nor Eggs, for they think there is blood in them."

20. *Borē Gund*.—*Barā gundā* (Hind.) = a great sin.

21. *Kachārī*.—*Khichrī* (Hind.) = a mess of rice, cooked with butter and *dal*, and flavoured with a little spice, shred onion and the like. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Kedguree*. The *Aln*, I, p. 59, gives the following recipe: "Khichrī: rice, split *dal*, and *ghī*, 5 *ser* of each, ½ *ser* salt; this gives 7 dishes."

22. *Mango wholesome*.—*Mung* (Hind.) the name of a kind of vetch, "green-grain," (*Phaseolus mung*). Garcia says that it was popularly recommended as a diet for lovers in the Deccan. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Meeng*, *moongo*.

23. *Ingredients of Gujarati Kachārī*.—Compare with the *Aln*, I, p. 59, among the victuals in which no meat is used: "Zard birinj: 12 *ser*s of rice; 51 of sugarcandy; 3½ *l* of *ghī*; raisins, almonds and pistachios, ½ *l* of each; ¼ *l* of salt; ½ *l* of fresh ginger, 1½ *danā* saffron; 2½ misqals of cinnamon. This will make four ordinary dishes."

NOTES TO CH. VIII.

P. 27, col. 2.

1. *Casting away bits of straw at the bathing-ghāt*.—I have not been able to discover the survival or meaning of this practice of casting away pieces of straw. "Rice-straw seem to be a mistake for grains of unboiled rice (*akibatā*) which are scattered in auspicious ceremonies, or while bathing in the Ganges on auspicious days." (*Note by Rai Monmohan Chakravarti*.)

2. *Kissing the cow*.—Doubtless an exaggeration. Similar examples abound.

P. 28, col. 1.

"They [the Canaias and Decanijns] account the Ox, Cow, or Buffel to be holie, which they have commonly in the house with them, and they besméere, stroke, and handle them, with all the friendship in the world, and feed them with the same [meat] they [use to] eate themselves, and when the beastes ease themselves, they hold their hands under [their tails] and so throw [the dung] away. In the night [time] they sleepe with them in their houses, and to conclude, use them as if they were reasonable creatures, whereby they think to doe God great service." Cf. van Linchoten Hakl. edn., I, pp. 257-258.

3. *Tanques* (tanks) is the uniform spelling in Manrique. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. tank.

4. *Idol of Jagannath*.—A name of Krishna; and a corruption of "Jagannātha," = Lord of the Universe. The image so called is an amorphous idol, much like those worshipped in some of the South Sea Islands. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Juggernaut.

P. 28, col. 2.

5. *A fanciful description of Jagannāth*.—It is scarcely necessary to say that Manrique's report of Jagannāth, based as it is on mere popular hearsay, is mostly erroneous. I do not remember having read anything like Manrique's version of the Jagannāth legend, ever since I met in 1906 Abbate Tosi's translation of it. Cf. *Catholic Herald*, Calcutta, 1906, p. 755. It is not likely either that Yule would have neglected to give it a place of honour in his *Hobson-Jobson*, had he met it. Manrique seems to assert he had read the story in native books.—Abbate Tosi recalls the classical reminiscence of Vulcan, Jupiter's butler, whom Juno crippled by casting him down into Lake Lennus.

For a less fanciful description of the origin of the idol, cf. Father G. Tachard, S. J., *Letters Edif. et Curieuses*, 1781, Vol. XII, pp. 46-50.

For other descriptions of the Pagoda of Jagannāth, cf. Alex. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Edinburgh, 1727, I, pp. 381-86; Rajendra Lal Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*; Bowrey's *A Geogr. Account of countries round the Bay of Bengal* (1669-1679), Hakluyt edn., 1905, pp. 12-24. I have collected many of them in *J. A. S. B.*, 1912, pp. 133-144; 1913, No. 5; 1913, pp. 451-455.

6. *The Idol's throne covered with gold cloth*.—"Now for the description of a particular Idol which stands upon the Altar in the Pagod of Jagannath: It is cover'd from the Shoulders downwards with a great Mantle that hangs down upon the Altar. The Mantle is of Tissue of Gold or Silver, according to the Solemnities. At first it had neither feet nor hands, but after one of their Prophets was taken up into Heaven, while they were lamenting what to do for another, God sent them an Angel in the likeness of that Prophet, to the end they might continue their Veneration toward him. Now while this Angel was busie in making this Idol, the people grew so impatient, that they took him out of the Angel's hands, and put him into the Pagod without hands or feet; but finding that the Idol appear'd in that manner too deform'd, they made him hands and arms of those small Pearls which we call Ounce-Pearls. As for his feet, they are never seen, being hid under his Cloak. There is no part op'n but his hands and feet, the head and body being of Sandal-wood." Cf. Tavernier, London, 1684, I, Pl. II, p. 174, or Ball's edn., II, p. 225, 199. Tavernier did not visit the temple.

7. *Raikuz*.—*Rakas*=*rakshasa* (Sanskrit) a demon.

"Around the elevated dome in which the idol is seated, from the base up to the top, there are numerous niches containing other images, the majority of which represent some hideous monsters, and they are made of stone of various colours." Cf. Tavernier, Ball's edn., II, pp. 228-229.

P. 29, col. 1.

8. *Santolons*.—Bernier speaks of 'Santons Gentils des Indes,' and Archibald Constable (edn. of 1891, p. 316) translates by 'hypocrite,' in which sense the word is used by Rabalais. We find the word 'Santon' adopted into English from the French in Hakluyt's *Voyages* (1599). Other French forms in the 16th century were: *sanctoton*, *santeron*=hypocrite. The word was used by Europeans to designate a monk or hermit among the Muhammadans; also, incorrectly, a *yogi*. Cf. Murray's *Oxford Engl. Dict.*

P. 29, col. 2.

9. *Hook-swinging*.—This passage on hook-swinging was misunderstood by Murray. He writes (*Histor. Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia*....., Edinburgh, 1820, II, pp. 101-102): "Besides the common mode of suicide by throwing themselves under the wheels of the chariot, he [Manrique] mentions others, *whip*, laid down on stakes, pierce themselves with iron hooks, so as to gradually, while the car passes, to bleed to death."

Hook-swinging at the *Charuk-pūjā* is rarely fatal—Compare Manrique with Bowry, *A Geogr. Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal* (Sir Richard Temple's edn., pp. 197-198; Tavernier (edn. 1684), Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 131; Dubois-Bauchamp, *Hindu Manners, Customs*....., Oxford, 1897, p. 605; Rev. Alex. Duff, *India and India Missions*, Edinburgh, 1840, pp. 263-269.

P. 30, col. 1.

10. '*Drugā*' procession.—Durgā, the wife of Siva.—"There is no festival in June connected with the Goddess Durgā, nor are any opprobrious epithets used with the name of the goddess. This is obviously a case of misunderstanding. Various forms of Durgā are worshipped all the year round; besides the usual form worshipped in Āswīn (Sept.—Oct.) and Chaitra (March—April). In times of pestilence or great danger, the goddess is worshipped in various forms." (*Note by Pandit Gobindulal Bonmarjee*).

"The time assigned 'New Moon of Jyēṣṭha,' and the statement that abusive terms are applied to Durgā, at the time of throwing away her image, seem to be meaningless. In the month of Kārtik (Oct.—Nov.), images of *Alakṣmī* are made and thrown outside the house with abusive words. *Alakṣmī* is, of course, quite different from Durgā." (*Note by Rai Moanmohan Chakravarty*).

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX.

P. 30, col. 1,
infra.

1. *Saugor Island deserted*.—The island was practically deserted in 1632, when some 3,000 Portuguese, who had escaped from the fall of Hugli, settled in it, and began constructing defence works among the ruined Pagodas. But, between October and the end of December 1632, a virulent plague broke out, which drove them to the *terra firma* of Hijill. This information I derive from a Ms. account by Father John Cabral, S. J., one of survivors. Saugor is still the site of a great fair, and one of the chief places of pilgrimage; but now a dense jungle haunted by tigers.

Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Saugor. The Rev J. Long published in Bengali the life of Rājāh Prākāpāditya, called in the original 'the last King of Saugor Island.' Cf. *Proc. A. S. B.*, Dec. 1868, p. 266.

2. *Portuguese and Mugh slave-raiders*.—Much could be written on these slave-mids of the Feringhis and Maghs or Mughas of Arakan. One of the chief reasons why Shāh Jahān directed the destruction of Hughli, was to break the power of these slave-dealers. Cf. Bernier (Constable's edn., pp. 175-177). The chief places where they sold their captives were Pipil and Chittagong. But slave-boys and slave-girls figured in Bowrey's days among the articles of export from Bengal to Sumatra. Cf. Bowrey, *Geogr. Account*, p. 290.

P. 30, col. 5,
infra.

Severe penalties were enacted against the slave-trade by the Synoda of Goa and Diamper. The first Provincial Council of Goa, 1568, (Session IV, Decr. 12) were of opinion that not one-fourth of the slaves used by the Portuguese were justly acquired, and de Souza (1698) asked himself whether the slave-traders of the Coast of Guinea were not more humane than those in India. (Cf. de Souza, *Orient. Comp.*, Vol. II, p. 118).

For "Mogo" see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Mugg.

3. *The virtue of betel*.—Compare with van Linschoten (Hakl. edn.), II, p. 62-63. Fr. Paulin de S. Barthélémy has the following in his *Voyage aux Indes Orient.*, Paris, 1808, II, p. 442: "Ateca, *Adani* or *Paca*, is the Indian nut which is eaten with the aromatic leaf of the betel. Castor Durante has described its virtues, as is seen in the work of Garzia [Garcia da Horta], Doctor of the King of Portugal in India. He says that the *Ateca* (*arique*) fortifies the teeth, strengthens the gums, and stops spitting blood, vomiting and looseness of the bowels."

4. *Tuberones y Tinturinas*.—"Tuberones" (Span.) are sharks; 'tinturinas,' a fiercer kind of shark than the common ones. There is no allusion to alligators, *magars* and *ghariyals* (*gairials*). See what van Linschoten relates of the "Tubaron of Hayen," (Hakl. edn., II, p. 12-13).

P. 31, col. 1.

5. *Sharks have three rows of teeth and pursue shadows*.—I am indebted to B. L. Choudhuri, Asst. Superintendent, Nat. Hist. Dept., Indian Museum, Calcutta, for the following note on some of the sharks at the mouth of the Hughli. "The scientific name of the most ferocious one in Bengal is *Carcharias gangeticus* (Mull. & Henle), a ground shark which seldom loses an opportunity of attacking the bather. A case is reported by Sir Joseph Fayrer of one wounded bather brought to his hospital, in which the shark had not only divided the soft parts down to the thigh bone, but even made a deep groove on the neck of the femur. *Carcharias himalaya* (known to come to Calcutta), *Carcharias mulleri* (Bengal) and several others are very much dreaded. Most of them are known to follow and pursue a shadow. All of them possess several rows of teeth placed in succession—on the jaw bone—3 or 4 rows being in active service at one and the same time; these are replaced by those from behind when worn out. The Indian fishermen distinguish two forms of sharks: one possessing long awl-shaped but smooth-edged teeth, and the other with elongated or triangular cusps with serrated edges. Thus in the more dreaded ones each individual tooth has an elongated portion in the middle with two lateral but lower

protuberances. Manrique may allude to these three rows in each individual tooth, or to 3 or more series of teeth in each jaw. In each case he would be correct. Cf. on Indian sharks Day's *Fauna of British India, Fishes*, Vol. I, pp. 6-34."

One of the features in Ktesias' description of the Martikhora, a fabulous animal evading identification, is that it had a triple row of teeth. But was it a shark? Cf. McCrindle's *Ktesias*, s. v. Martikhora.

P. 31, col. 2.

6. *Pilgrims offering themselves to be devoured by sharks*.—This description does not appear exaggerated. Now-a-days, at the great *melas* or fairs, the crowd at the bathing-places is often so great that people are pushed out of their depth and drowned, others are dragged off by sharks. But it seems quite true that formerly cases of self-sacrifice were common and that mothers sacrificed their children to the Ganges. The Brahmans, according to the *Ata* of Abul Fasl (reference lost), think it meritorious to terminate life by cutting the throat at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna, or by exposing oneself to the alligators at the mouth of the holy river.

"These sacrifices are of two descriptions: first of aged persons of both sexes which are voluntary, and of children, which of course are involuntary. The fixed periods for the performance of those rites are at the full moons, in November and January.

"The custom of sacrificing children arises from superstitious vows made by the parents, who, when apprehensive of not having issue, promise in the event of their having five children, to devote the fifth to the Ganges.

"The island of Sagor, where these inhuman rites are administered, is held to be peculiarly sacred from its being considered as the termination of the Ganges, and the junction of that river with the sea, is denominated *the place of sacrifice*.

"So lately as November 1821, some European seamen belonging to the pilot service of Bengal, being on shore on the island, were witnesses to this horrid ceremony. The information they gave to the Justices of the Peace for Calcutta, was on oath to the following effect:—

"That, on going on shore, they saw the entrails of a human body floating on the water; and at the same time a great number of the natives assembled on the beach, as near as they could guess, about three thousand. That on asking a Fakir why so many of the natives were put into the water, he answered that the head fakir had ordered them to go into the water to be devoured by sharks, for the prosperity of their respective families; that they saw eleven men, women and boys thus destroyed; and it further appeared by other incontestible evidence, that the victims destroyed in November amounted to thirty-nine; and moreover, that a boy, about twelve years old, who had been thrown into the river, having saved himself by swimming, a Gosayee endeavoured to extend his protection to him; but, singular and unnatural as it may appear, he was again seized and committed to destruction by his own parents.

"To prevent this practice, a law was enacted in March 1802, declaring any person who should aid or assist in forcing any individual to be a victim of this superstition, guilty of murder. But, with respect to the voluntary sacrifice of the aged and infirm, the practice prevailed so generally, and was considered by the Hindus, under some circumstances, so instrumental to their happiness in a future

state of existence, that it was doubted whether any rule could be adopted to prevent a practice, not only rooted in the remotest antiquity, but sanctioned by express tenets in their most sacred books." Cf. *The Asiatic Annual Register ... for the year 1803*, London, 1804 (Section: Characters, p. 29); also Buchanan's *Christian Researches*, 10th edn., pp. 44-46.

Peter Mundy (1632) speaks of Hindus having themselves "cut in two Pieces [at Allahabad, at the junction of the Jamna and the Ganges]. That one might fall into Ganges and the other into Jemina." Sir Richard Temple (*Travels of Peter Mundy*, II, p. 116 n. 2) says that this mode of suicide is prescribed in the *Prayāga Mahātmya* (Guide to the Holy Places at Prayag or Allahabad), and he refers us to *Gazett., N. W. P.* (Allahabad), VIII, p. 83 and to Tieffenthaler, I, p. 229.

Another source of very serious danger to the pilgrims of Saugor were the tigers abounding in the island. They would even swim across the river, and haul the men out of their boats. Cf. A. Hamilton, *A new Account of the East Indies*, II, (p. 4.) Bernier, Constable's edn., p. 442.

7. *Gangā Saugor*.—*Gangā Sāgara*=Ocean Ganges, or the meeting of the Ganges with the Ocean.

8. *Ganges water carried home*.—The melā at Saugor is annually held in January. "At this place (Gangā Saugor), when Hindus come to wash, which is about November, they all carry away some water in pots out of the River Ganges to their friends, though 4 or 500 course [*kos*] or 1,000 miles, and with that water wash their parents who are old,...." Cf. Bowrey, *Geogr. Account*, p. 203 n. 1 taken from J. Marshall's *Notes and Observations*, p. 15, circa 1669.

9. *Ecclesiastical penalties against Portuguese ship-captains conveying Ganges water*.—The synod under D. Aleixo de Menezes was held at Diamper between June 20 and June 26, 1599. I do not find any such prohibition among its decrees; but there is one in the Acts of the 3rd Provincial Council of Goa (1585). Cf. *Bullarium Patron. Portug.*, App. I, p. 66, Decr. 9. P. 32, col. 1.

English captains were not beset with the same scruples. Bowrey states that the Brahmans of "Cossimbazar" sent Ganges water and Ganges mud "with their Choppe or Seale Upon it,....even soe farre as Persia." When he went to Gombroon (Persia) from Bengala he had "Severall Mortayan Jars on board, some full of water, others of Mudde of the River Ganges, sent as presents to the great Merchants of the Banjan Coast in this Kingdome." Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.

10. *Ganges water used at the coronation of Hindū and Muhammadan Kings*.—Manrique mentions himself the case of the Rājā of Arakan who had Ganges water brought from Saugor, a distance of twelve or fifteen days, "because, as I have said, all these Gentiles hold it sacred, and unless they have first submitted to certain purifications with this water, these Kings consider themselves unclean and incapable of receiving the Imperial Crown." Cf. *Itinerario*, pp. 203-204. I have looked in vain for a case where Muhammadan Princes submitted to the same rite. It would not be surprising if they did. "For the cooking of [Akbar's] food, rain water or water taken from the Jamnah and the Chanab is used, mixed with a little Ganges water." Cf. Blochmann, *Ain* (transl.), I, p. 55; Constable's edn. of Bernier's *Travels*,

Westminster, 1891, p. 221; *Travels of Peter Mundy*, edited by Sir R. C. Temple, London, Hakluyt Soc., MCMXIV, Vol. II, pp. 230-231 and notes, with other references.

"The Mahometans are, to this day, not free from that superstition; the water of the Ganges being sold among them in bottles at a very good price, as we do our spaw-waters; and they pay a considerable custom for it." Cf. Baldæus (*circa* 1550), Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, Vol. III, 1745, p. 597.

The author of the *Akhbarat-i-Tawarikh* (A. D. 1695), after mentioning the wells at Hardwar, thus describes the virtues of Ganges water:—"Its water is carried to distant places as a valuable present. It is a wonderful fact that, if the water is kept in a pot even for a year, it does not acquire a bad smell or change its colour. Undoubtedly its water, which is pleasant to the taste, free from impurity like the hearts of the pious, and full of grace like the souls of God's chosen ones, equals in purity and sweetness the water Kausar [the river of nectar in Paradise] and rivals in delicacy and agreeableness the water of Salsabil [a fountain of pure water in Paradise]. Its perfect purity makes it suitable to men of all constitutions. Many benefits are derived from it, that is to say, it confers health and recovery on the sickly, and the benefits of medicine in the case of long-standing diseases. It causes stoutness and cheerfulness in the healthy. It gives purity to the unclean stomach and brightness to the internal heat; it increases the appetite and stimulates the sexual energy. It makes the amber-coloured face look like the ruby, and the saffron-complexioned face purple. This is the reason why the Kings of Hindustan and the great nobles, wherever they may be, drink the water of the Ganges." Cf. Jadunath Sarkar, *The India of Aurangzib*, Calcutta, 1901, pp. 19-20.

P. 33, col. 2.

11. *Oh, let me lie on the banks of the Ganges!*—"The Sick party is carried down to the River Side in a hammock, or coarse piece of Pangaree Cloth, where he is laide upon the ground even at the brink of the water. They lift up his head and back, and keep pouring River water down his throat, untill they make his belly swell by fillings him soe full of that Element, a great quantitie of the Sick parties kindred and Friends sittinge by howlinge and crying, Even as the Wild Irish Used to doe for theire parents deceased." Cf. Bowrey, *Geogr. Account*, pp. 200-201; also, Schouten, Amsterdam, 1707, II, p. 161; Dow, *History of Hindostan*, I, XXXV, and Sonnerat, *Voyages to the East Indies* (1774-1781), Calcutta, 1788, I, p. 199-200. The last two speak of the patients' being at times choked with mud.

12. *Ashes of the dead thrown into the Ganges.*—"Il aduint à ce propos environ l'an 1594, ainque nos annales tesmoignent, que le Royne de Cochîn estoit proche de la mort conjura son fils le Roy de Cochîn, de lui faire ce dernier office, à sçavoir, qu'il allast lui mesme jettér de sa propre main dans le Gange les cendres de son Corps, apres qu'il seroit brulé. Ce que le fils executa fidelement, se desguisant en pelerin, afinqu'il ne fut pas reconnu, & passat avec plus d'assurance par les terres des autres Rois." Cf. du Jarric, Vol. I, p. 604.

13. *Agula.*—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. eagle-wood and aloes.

P. 33, col. 2.

14. *Sati.*—*Sati* is one of the commonest topics among ancient travellers, as it was one of the most lugubrious rites of Hindûism, and one of the darkest blots on the history of India. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Suttee*, where a considerable number

of references are collected. van Linschoten's description (L. 249) is said by Dr. Burnell to be the earliest precise one.

For other accounts of natl. Cf. Fryer, *A New Account of East India*, London, 1698, p. 33.; Tavernier, London, 1684, Vol. I, Pt. II, 169-172 or Ball's edn., II, 209.; Bernier, Constable's edn., London, 1891, pp. 307-314.; Bowrey, *A Geogr. Account*, Index, s. v. Sati.

NOTES TO CH. X.

1. Psalm XVII, 27.

2. *Our reformed Convent*.—Manrique belonged to that branch of the Augustinian Order which had been reformed by Father Thomas de Andrade, afterwards called Thomas of Jesus.

3. *The great luminary of Tolentino*.—St. Nicholas of Tolentino.

4. *The study of the Vernaculars*.—I have lying before me a Ms. copy of the Statutes of the Congregation of the Hermits of St. Augustine in the Indies, which must have been drawn up before 1656. Statute No. 62 runs thus: "In the Convents Goa, in the College [of Goa], of in Ceylao, in Bengala, and elsewhere, where there is occasion for making conversions and establishing Christianities, where the Sacraments [*sic*] of Confession are to be administered, we ordain that there be lessons in the language used in the places where they [the Friars] reside, at which lesson shall assist all the Religious without any exception, and the Prior who does not send in information certifying that he has a qualified Teacher and that he continues giving his lesson once every week-day ..[the text appears corrupt here: *e que continue alar* [*sic*] *tiças todas as dias de f. sua vez*] will be ineligible for all the offices and dignities to which he can be elected in this Province; and there, in the Chapter for a period of four years and the salary will be paid by the Convent [the passage is confusing: *sera inhabil p. todas as officios, e dignidades em q. palem desta Prov. sir. ultor, de solo no Cap. p. tempo de quatro an. com salaris se pagará de Com.*]. Only those who know the language best, even though they be younger in years and religion, shall ever be sent to the Vicarages, provided they have the other qualifications."

5. *Dianga*.—Dianga was that part of Chitragong where the Portuguese had their "Bandel" or settlement. It was on the southern bank of the river. I was told that traces of the foundations of a Catholic Church are still seen there.

[To be continued.]

Early History of Bengal—I.

MR. VINCENT SMITH, in the Introduction to his admirable work on the early history of India, after referring to the immense progress made in the recovery of the lost history of the country, since Elphinstone wrote, in 1839, that, in Indian History, no date of a public event could be fixed before the invasion of Alexander, and no connected relation of the national transactions could be attempted until after the Muhammadan conquest, and defining his own work as an attempt to present a narrative of the leading events in Indian political history for eighteen centuries, goes on to dwell on a special difficulty, which arises in dealing with any period of Indian History, owing to the fact that, while India, as a whole, forms a geographical and political unit, it cannot be treated as a unit for historical purposes, in the same way as it is convenient to treat, for instance, one or other of the countries of Europe, the inhabitants of which form, socially and politically, one nation.

He says:—

"India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a
"geographical unit, and, as such, is rightly designated by one
"name. The type of civilisation has many features, which
"differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world, while
"they are common to the whole country, or rather continent, in a
"degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of
"human social and intellectual development. But the complete
"political unity of India, under the control of a paramount power,
"wielding unquestioned authority, is a thing of yesterday, barely a
"century old. The most notable of her rulers in the olden time
"cherished the ambition of universal Indian dominion, and severally
"attained it in a greater or less degree. But not one of them
"attained it completely, and this failure implies a lack of unity
"in political history, which renders the task of the historian
"difficult.

"The same difficulty besets the historian of Greece still more pressing-
"ly; but, in that case, with the attainment of unity, the interest
"of history vanishes. In the case of India, the converse proposition
"holds good, and the reader's interest varies directly with the
"degree of unity attained, the details of Indian annals being
"insufferably wearisome, except when generalized by the applica-
"tion of a bond of political union.

"A history of India, if it is to be read, must necessarily be the story of
 "the predominant dynasties, and either ignore or relegate to a
 "very subordinate position the annals of the minor states.
 "Elphinstone acted on this principle in his classic work, and
 "practically confined his narrative to the transactions of the
 "Sultans of Delhi and their Moghal successors. The same prin-
 "ciple has been applied in this book, and attention has been
 "concentrated upon the dominant dynasties, which, from time to
 "time, have attained or aspired to paramount power."

I would venture, however, humbly to demur to the proposition contained in this passage, insofar as it is calculated to discourage interest in provincial or local Indian history.

It seems to me that, owing to the lack of social and political unity in India, the vastness and variety of the subject, attempts to present the history of India as a whole can only yield unsatisfactory results, unless the study of the general history of India is supplemented by special study of the history of the different regions or provinces, which may be regarded as forming smaller and more homogeneous political units. It is as if one were to attempt the study of the history of Europe without the help of special books dealing with the history of the different European countries. I think that the comparatively little interest taken in Indian history is largely due to the fact that the standard works on the subject attempt to deal with the history of India as a whole, while provincial and local history has been too much neglected. And it appears to me that a good many incorrect notions about India and Indian history are traceable to histories of Mussulman rule having been practically confined to the transactions of the Sultans of Delhi and their Moghal successors. I may also be permitted to say that, excellent as Mr. Smith's book is, the difficulties, to which he refers, have resulted in making a great deal of it rather hard reading, while the student, who is specially interested in Bengal, will find the references to this part of India in the book somewhat inadequate.

If the materials for provincial history are at present meagre, a little examination of the question will show that, at any rate in the case of Bengal, the sources have by no means been completely investigated. Much that is interesting has already been discovered and published, our knowledge is being added to steadily, if slowly; but an immense field of enquiry lies open to the student.

Mr. Vincent Smith divides the sources of the early history of India into four classes. The first, he says, is tradition, chiefly as recorded in native literature; the second consists of those writings of foreign travellers and historians, which contain observations on Indian subjects; the third is

the evidence of archaeology, which may be subdivided into the monumental, the epigraphic, and the numismatic; and the fourth comprises the few works of native contemporary, or nearly contemporary literature, which deal expressly with historical subjects.

Mr. Vincent Smith's enumeration may be taken as fairly complete, so far as materials known and made available to the European scholar are concerned, but it should be understood that, while it may fairly be said that the ancient literatures of India contain, so far as is known, no historical work, properly so called, they do contain, besides quasi-historical interludes, such as those which occur in the great Sanskrit epics and in the Purāṇas, and historical or biographical poems, such as the *Rajatarangini*, the *Harṣacarita*, the *Gauḍavaho*, and the *Ramacarita*, numerous allusions and references scattered up and down in works on religion, science, grammar, philosophy, law, and other subjects, which throw light on historical episodes and events, or on the state of society and civilisation at different periods and in different parts of India. The whole field of Indian literature, whether in Sanskrit, or Pāli or Bengali, Hindi, or any of the other Prakrits or vernaculars, is thus a field of investigation for the materials of Indian history. We know what a large field that is. Besides the works which have been printed and published, there is an immense mass of manuscripts, which have been collected by learned societies, but not yet printed or even catalogued, and there are many more manuscripts, which have not been examined by modern scholars, either in the possession of private individuals, or in monastic libraries in India itself or in Ceylon, Nepal, or Thibet, or, possibly, in China, or Indo-China, or Central Asia. The great Buddhist monasteries in Thibet possess large libraries of manuscripts, among which have been found books in Sanskrit, or Thibetan translations of Sanskrit works, no copies of which were extant in India. There is every probability that examination of these Buddhist libraries in Thibet would disclose much information bearing on the history of Bengal, as it is believed that there was much intercourse between Bengal and Thibet in what may be called the Middle Ages, and especially about the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., when the Pala Kings of Bengal were probably the greatest Buddhist sovereigns in India.

Then it is known that the Chinese sources of information with regard to ancient and mediæval India have, by no means, been fully explored, and, as the intercourse between China and India was kept up, mainly, through Buddhist pilgrims, it may, for the reason just mentioned, be expected that, for the mediæval period, Chinese literature referring to India will furnish information specially with regard to Bengal. The archaeological field again, is very far from having been exhausted. Very little has yet been done in

the way of excavation in India—in Bengal practically nothing. Yet in Bengal there are sites, where judicious excavation might, very probably, yield valuable historical results. One is the site of the ancient city of Gauda in Malda. The ruins of Gaur, which are well-known, and now carefully preserved, thanks to the initiative of Lord Curzon, are ruins of the Muhammadan period; but tradition has it that the Muhammadan city was built on the outskirts of the ancient Buddhist and Hindu city, which fell into ruins after the Muhammadan conquest. Besides, there are Rangamati, in Murshidabad district, believed to be the site of the ancient *Karnasuvarna*; Panchthupi near Kandl in the same district, said to derive its name from five Buddhist stupas, the remains of one of which are still visible; Mahasthan in Bogra, identified as the site of the ancient city of Pundravardhana, the stupas at Paharpur and Bihar in Bogra, Mahipur near Panchbibi station in the same district, where many remains of ancient buildings are found on the surface, and excavation would probably disclose more, Jagaddala, believed to be the site of an ancient university of the Pala period, in Dinajpur, Bijaynagar in Rajshahi, said to be the site of Bijayapura, a capital of the Sena Kings, and many other sites. In Bengal one does not, in the course of ordinary travel, come across such imposing monuments of antiquity as are found in some other parts of India, and to the superficial observer, it might seem that Bengal is a country without a history, and without evidences of an ancient civilisation, but that would be a great mistake. The ancient civilisation of Bengal has existed, and the evidences of it are there, but they have to be looked for. One reason for their escaping attention is that Bengal has been a country of great changes—physical, social, and political—and the places which were important political and commercial centres in ancient times are not important nor much frequented now. Then the dampness of the climate causes any buildings, which are neglected, to decay rapidly, and abandoned sites are soon overgrown with jungle. The ruins of Gaur remained for centuries buried in jungle, and were seldom visited. Now they have been cleared to a great extent, and, since the railway has been made to Malda, they have become comparatively accessible. The belt of country, occupying parts of the districts of Malda, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Bogra and Rangpur, which was known in ancient times as *Varendra* or *Varendri*, and is now called the Barind, was evidently at one time thickly populated, and contains many traces of an ancient civilisation. Then, at what precise date, or owing to what causes is uncertain, it was abandoned, became overgrown with jungle and unhealthy and its treasures of ancient architecture and sculpture were lost to sight. Within recent years, this tract of country has been to a great extent cleared again, and brought under cultivation, chiefly through the agency of Sonthal immigrants, and many

objects of archaeological interest have thus been brought to light. Some of these, I am glad to say, have been collected and housed in the very interesting museum established by the Varendra Research Society at Rampur Boalia, and other collections have been made at Rangpur, Bogra and Malda. One great cause of the paucity of ancient buildings in many parts of Bengal has been the destruction wrought by changes in the courses of the great rivers by which the alluvial soil of the Province is traversed. These rivers, when they cut away their banks, and change their beds, undermine and demolish every masonry building that comes in their way, burying the ruins under feet of earth and sand. One reads in the Gazetteer of Dacca district that, only in the eighteenth century, Raja Rājballabh, who was a very great Zamindar in Eastern Bengal at that time, built many temples in different parts of the district, but all have disappeared owing to changes in the course of rivers.

But, while very much remains to be done in the investigation of the ancient history of India, and of Bengal in particular, it is still possible, from the materials, which are available, to get a fair idea of the place taken by Bengal within the historical period preceding the Muhammadan conquest, and my object now is to give a very brief sketch of the information, which we have on the subject.

I should explain that I have not attempted original research. Nearly all the facts, which I shall place before you, may be found in recently published works. I may mention in particular the collection of Greek and Roman notices of India published by Mr. McCrindle, Mr. Vincent Smith's "Early History of India," Mahamahopādhyāya Haraprosād Sastri's preface to his edition of the Ramacarita, Babu Rakhaldas Bannerji's work on the Palas of Bengal, and the same author's history of Bengal in Bengali—*Bāṅgālār Itihās*, Babu Ramaprosād Canda's work *Gaudarajamālā*, published by the Varendra Research Society. I have also derived information from the edition of inscriptions entitled *Gandalekhamālā*, published by the same Society, and from Babu Akhay Kumar Maitra's lectures on the downfall of the Pala Kingdom of Bengal, delivered in the Senate House here, last year.

A little more must first be said about some of the historical materials, to which I have referred. The copper-plate inscriptions, which afford materials for the early history of Bengal, as of other parts of India, are legal instruments, that is to say, royal deeds conferring grants of land on religious institutions. These deeds were drawn up in accordance with fixed rules, which are found in certain Hindu lawbooks. The rules in the *Yajñavalkya Saṁhitā*, which have been quoted, as an example, by Babu Akhay Kumar Maitra, in his introduction to the *Gandalekhamālā*, lay down

that the grant should be engrossed on a sheet of cotton, or a copper-plate, should be preceded by an account of the virtues and prowess of the donor and his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, should contain a specification of the donee, and of the land granted, with its boundaries, etc., and should bear the Raja's seal, with the date.

Grants drawn up at different places and periods, in accordance with these instructions, furnish much useful historical information. At the same time, it will be obvious that great caution should be exercised in drawing historical conclusions from the panegyric on the reigning king and his ancestors, with which each grant begins. A statement in such a grant that a particular king reigned from the Himalayas to the Vindhya, or from the Eastern to the Western ocean must not always be taken quite literally, and, when we find it alleged that the king conquered a hostile chief, or tribe, or country, it is not safe to infer a complete and permanent conquest. Such a statement in an inscription of the kind is, generally speaking, by itself, sufficient ground only for the inference that hostilities of some kind occurred between the king, who is the subject of the eulogy, and the chief, tribe, or country said to have been conquered by him. To help us to make a fair guess at what the result of the hostilities was, we should require for comparison, an inscription belonging to the other side, describing the result of the fighting from their point of view, or, better still, an inscription of some neutral throwing light on the subject.

It must not be thought that, in adopting this attitude, we shall be assuming a very low standard of veracity in the authors of the inscriptions. It must be remembered that it was not their business to write history. They were officials or court scribes, whose duty it was to enter at the head of each grant that they made out, a complimentary account of some of the events of the reigns of the actual king and his ancestors, the Sanskrit name for this part of the document being "*prasasti*," which means eulogium or panegyric. Then, in regard to the dates of different inscriptions, a difficulty sometimes arises in determining the era according to which they have been computed, different eras having been in use in various parts of the country at different times.

Strictly speaking, I think, the historical period for Northern India, must be taken to begin with Alexander the Great's invasion, in the year 327 B. C., which was followed, after a very short interval, in the year 321, B. C., by accession of Chandragupta, the first sovereign of the Maurya dynasty. This assertion may, I know, be disputed, as different people have different ideas as to what amounts to historical evidence, and the fixing of any particular date as the beginning of the historical period may seem somewhat arbitrary, but, personally, in the present state of our knowledge, I would

place it at Alexander's invasion. While that invasion did not result in the permanent establishment of any Greek or Macedonian power in India, and it has been described as a brilliantly successful raid on a gigantic scale, it appears to me to have been an event of great importance in the history of India, inasmuch as it brought India into direct contact with the Hellenic world, a contact which was maintained to a greater or less extent for several centuries afterwards, perhaps up to the time of the Hun invasions of India at the beginning of the 5th century (A. D.) or even later. We have got so much accustomed to the idea of the route from Europe to India being by sea, and of that being the way by which Western civilisation has come to India, that we are apt to forget that, for some three centuries before, and for some few centuries after the foundation of Christianity, there was direct communication, and probably, fairly close intercourse by land between India and the countries of Western Asia, in which Greek culture was established, and through them, with Greece, and, afterwards, with Rome, the chief centres of European civilisation in those times. As to what the precise extent of this intercourse was, and what its effects were, we have not full information, but it seems highly probable that, through this intercourse, initiated by Alexander's invasion, Greek and Indian thought may have reacted on one another. There is a story, told by a Greek writer of how Bindusāra Maurya, the successor of Chandragupta, wrote to Antiochos Soter, asking him to send him some figs and raisin wine, and also a philosopher; and it is recorded in Aśoka's edicts that Aśoka sent Buddhist missionaries to Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia, and Epirus. Probably, it was not for nothing that the Maurya Emperors sent missionaries to Syria, Egypt and Macedonia, and imported Greek philosophers with their wine. The importance of this early contact between India and Greece and Rome will be realized, if we consider that what we call now Western civilisation, that is, the civilisation of Europe, is really in the main Greeco-Roman civilisation,—the civilisation which spread gradually from Greece and Rome over the rest of Europe,—and that our European idea of civilisation is derived, mainly, from that Greeco-Roman influence.

The capital of the Maurya Empire, which embraced the whole of India, except the extreme south, and also territory beyond the present frontier of India on the North-West, was at Pataliputra, the modern Patna, in the country of Magadha, or South Bihar, which adjoins Bengal on the West.

The Maurya Empire lasted for 137 years, and, after its decline, the next time that we find the greater part of Northern India, including Bengal, united in one empire, is under the Gupta dynasty, which reigned from about the middle of the fourth to the middle of the fifth century A. D. and which also had its capital at Pataliputra.

I think that the first significant fact, in connection with the early history of Bengal, is that, at the outset of the historical period, the centre of political power and of civilisation in India was at Pataliputra, close to Bengal. There are some, who would place the beginning of the historical period for India about two centuries earlier, that is, about five and a half centuries before Christ, which may be taken as the approximate date of the foundation of the Jaina and Buddhist religions. If we take this date, we find that it corresponds with the rise of the kingdom of Magadha to paramount power in Northern India, supplanting its rival, the kingdom of Kosala, which corresponded to what are now Oudh and Benares. According to an ethnological theory, the Aryans, after migrating into India, settled in the Punjab, or the Upper Basin of the Ganges, and it is supposed that the home of the Aryans at the time of the composition of the Vedas was in either of those regions. Either theory may be right, but they are at present only theories—matters of conjectures. The Vedic period is not historical, and we have no certain knowledge as to the date, or the course, of any migration of Aryans into India. What is of historical importance is that, at the earliest time of which we have, so far, historical information about India, we find the centre of civilisation in Northern India, not anywhere in the Punjab, nor in the Upper Basin of the Ganges, but much farther east, in Magadha, on the borders of Bengal. And in all probability, Pataliputra continued to be one of the chief centres, if not the chief centre, of Indian civilisation in the north of the Peninsula, for a very long period, 750 or 1,000 years, according as we place the beginning of the historic period three centuries or five and a half centuries before Christ. During that time there were other centres of political power and civilisation in Northern India. There were Greek and more or less hellenized Parthian sovereigns, who ruled at different times over portions of the Punjab and North-West, and some of whom made Taxila near Rawal Pindi their capital, and there was the Kushan dynasty, whose capital was Peshawar. But the civilisation of those rulers was rather Greek and foreign than Indian, and I think it is, probably, correct to say that the chief centre of indigenous Indian civilisation from the beginning of the historical period till the breakup of the Gupta empire was at Pataliputra. Later on, in the seventh century, we find the capital of Harsha's empire at Kanauj, but, at the beginning of the ninth century, Kanauj appears to have declined, and we find the first great Pala King of Bengal again holding court at Pataliputra. By the middle of the ninth century Kanauj has again acquired importance as the capital of the Pratihara kingdom or empire, an importance which it maintained till its capture by Sultan Mahmud at the beginning of the 11th century. During most of this period, however, Kanauj had a close rival in the kingdom of Gauda, under the Bengal Pala dynasty, to

the East, which probably equalled, if it did not surpass, Kanauj in wealth and civilisation, and was the principal centre of the Buddhist world, as regards religion, literature, and art.

The early history of Bengal is very closely associated with that of Magadha and Bihar, and, perhaps, in any regional or local historical work, Bengal and Bihar should be dealt with together.

It might reasonably be inferred, from the close proximity of Bengal to one of the principal centres of civilisation in Northern India, from very early times, that civilisation must have developed in Bengal comparatively early. Another circumstance, which affected the development of civilisation in Bengal, was that, owing to its geographical position, Bengal was not, before the Muhammadan conquest, exposed to attack from the various tribes and nations, who from time to time invaded India from the North-West.

There is a popular belief that, at some time long gone by, India was invaded from the northwest by a people called the Aryans, who were superior in civilisation to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, and who gradually conquered and subdued those aborigines, and established their own civilisation over the greater part of India. That is a belief, which rests on popular tradition, and may find some support in ethnological theories, and in existing social phenomena, but it is not supported, so far, by any historical evidence. I am not saying that the popular tradition has no foundation in fact, or that it is wholly fanciful, or that historical evidence in support of it may not be found at some time or other. What I would submit is that, at present,—in the present state of our knowledge—it is not supported by historical evidence.

Within historic times, India has often been invaded from the North-West, but the invaders were not Aryans, in the traditional sense of that name, and, before the Muhammadan invasion, none of them can properly be said to have imposed their civilisation permanently on the country. It is more true to say that those of them, who remained in India, ultimately adopted the civilisation of India, and became absorbed in the general population of the country. But none of the early invaders of India from the North-West, neither Macedonians nor Greeks, Sakas, Pahlavas or Parthians, Yavanas, or Indo-Greeks, Yueh Chis or Kushans, nor Huns, ever penetrated as invaders and conquerors as far as Bengal, nor even, so far as we have certain information, to Pataliputra. There were, it is true, in later times, invasions of Bengal, or, at least, of Bihar, by the Gurjatas or Gujars, who are believed to have been connected with the Huns in their origin, but that was after they had been settled for a long time in India and become thoroughly Indian. On the other hand, Bengal was invaded from time to time from the north and north-east, from the directions of Nepal, Thibet and Assam. With

regard to those invasions, we have not very detailed information, but they have probably left their mark on the composition of the population.

The chief authority for the state of things in India at the commencement of the Mauryan empire is Megasthenes, a Greek, who was ambassador to the court of the first Maurya Emperor, Chandra Gupta, from Seleukus Nikator, one of the generals of Alexander the Great, who, after Alexander's death, succeeded in establishing himself as ruler of a kingdom comprising a large part of Central and Western Asia, and bordering on the north-west frontier of India. Seleukus had invaded the Punjab, in the hope of recovering Alexander's conquests there, but was signally defeated by Chandra Gupta, and compelled to sign a treaty, by which he gave up, not only the whole of the Punjab, but also a great deal of what is now Afghanistan. After that, there was peace between the two sovereigns, and Seleukus was represented for many years at Pataliputra by Megasthenes, who wrote an account of all that he saw and heard of Chandra Gupta's empire. His complete account has not come down to us, but we have extracts and quotations from it, and statements purporting to be made on its authority, in the works of other Greek writers. Megasthenes says that Pataliputra was the chief town of the country of a people whom he calls the Prasii, a name, which, perhaps, corresponds to the Sanscrit word "prācya", meaning Eastern, and that, to the East of it lay the kingdom of a people called the Gangaridæ. The historian Diodorus, following Megasthenes, says that the Ganges before falling into the sea, skirts the eastern boundary of the country of the Gangaridæ. He adds that the Gangaridæ had many formidable war-elephants, and, on that account, no foreign king had ever been able to take possession of their country. Pliny the elder associates the Gangaridæ, with Kalinga, which was the ancient name for Orissa.

The geographer Ptolemy, who wrote in the 2nd century A. D. says that the country about the mouth of the Ganges was occupied by the Gangaridæ, the residence of their king being a town named Gange. The Gangaridæ are mentioned also in the works of other Latin authors, namely Virgil, in the 3rd book of the Georgics, Valerius Flaccus and Quintus Curtius. They were evidently an important people, who occupied some part of Bengal—how much it is not certain. In any case, it is clear that their country was incorporated in the empire of Asoka, either as a feudatory state, or as territory directly subject to the empire.

There is every probability that from an early date in the Maurya period, the administration, the laws, and the general state of civilisation of the greater part of Bengal were the same as those portrayed by Megasthenes in his description of Chandra Gupta's empire. For a summary of that description, which is corroborated by a highly interesting work on Political science,

attributed to Chandra Gupta's Minister, Cāṇakya, also named Kautilya, I may refer you to Chapter V of Mr. Vincent Smith's book, or to Mr. Rawlinson's recently published work on the intercourse between ancient India and the Western world. Kautilya's work has been edited and translated by Mr. R. Shama Shastri of Mysore, and interesting summaries of portions of it has been published in English by Mr. Narendranath Law, and in Bengali by Babu Jogendranath Samaddar. From these descriptions, there cannot be any doubt, but that, during the Maurya period, Northern India was in a high state of civilisation. For instance, we find mention of an Irrigation Department, with a regular system of canals and sluices. The Municipal administration of the capital, Pataliputra, was looked after by a Commission divided into six boards, of which one was responsible for the registration of births and deaths, another for the supervision of industries, another for trade and commerce, and so on. The army was also controlled by a Commission comprising six boards. We have not much information about the state of religion in Northern India in Chandra Gupta's time, but we know that in the reign of his grandson, Aśoka, Buddhism, Jainism and different forms of Brahmanical Hinduism existed side by side. Aśoka, as we all know, adopted the Buddhist religion, and exerted himself to spread it throughout India, and the world generally, and made it, in some sense, the state religion, but he also tolerated, and even patronised Brahmanical Hinduism and Jainism.

And here I may remark, anticipating a little, that we have historical records of three great empires, which existed in Northern India within the space of about 1,000 years, namely, the Mauryan empire of Chandra Gupta, Bindusara and Aśoka, the Gupta Empire, in the 4th and 5th centuries A. D., and the empire of Harṣavardhana, in the 7th century. All of these included the whole or a considerable part of Bengal, and in the case of each of them, some of the most interesting information that we possess is derived from foreign writers—the Greek Megasthenes in the case of the Mauryan Empire, the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian, in the case of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya, at the beginning of the 5th century A. D. and the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chuang, in the case of Harṣa in the seventh century A. D. In the descriptions of all these three empires we find certain common features. We find much the same standard—a rather high standard—of civilisation. We find a certain similarity in some of the methods and institutions of Government portrayed. Mr. Vincent Smith has remarked on the similarity between the Government of Harṣa, as described by Yuan Chuang, and that of Aśoka, who reigned more than eight hundred years before. We find also, under these three empires, the two main religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, existing side by side, and the general principle of religious toleration, whether the sovereigns happened to be Buddhist or Hindu. It seems reasonable to surmise that

these features may have persisted in the intervals between the periods covered by the three empires mentioned, when the territories which they comprised became divided among a number of small independent states, and may have survived in Bengal after the break up of Harsha's empire in the 7th century A. D., and up to the rise of the Pala dynasty at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century. It may further be surmised that, when a great central empire, with a regular system of Government, and civilised institutions, existed in Northern India, such as the Maurya Empire, the Gupta Empire, or that of Harsha, the feudatory and protected states within the Empire, and also minor independent states on its borders, would be disposed to copy the institutions of the central Government, just as we know that the semi-barbarous States on the borders of the ancient Roman Empire adopted some of the Roman laws and institutions, and, in India, in later times, feudatory and independent frontier states copied certain Mughal institutions in the Mughal period, and have adopted some of the laws and institutions of British India, under the British Empire. Moreover, the various tribes, who, in ancient times, invaded India from the north, and settled down in the country, such as the Sakas, Palilavas, Yuch Chis or Kushans, and Huns, adopted Indian customs and the Buddhist or Hindu religion, very much as the barbarians, who invaded Europe from the East, on the fall of the Roman Empire, came to adopt or assimilate as much as they could of the Græco-Roman civilisation and religion. Another thing, which, it is practically certain, must have contributed to the importance and wealth and civilisation of Bengal under the Mauryan empire, as it does now, and to its close connection with the capital of that empire, was that the river Ganges, which flows through Bengal before reaching the sea, must have been one of the principal channels of the sea-borne commerce of the empire.

In the anonymous Greek work, *περίπλος τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης* or, by its Latin title, *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, that is, voyage round the Erythraean Sea, which is ascribed to the latter part of the first century A. D., it is mentioned that fine muslins and other goods were exported from the seaport of Gange, near the mouth of the Ganges. This book was written by a Greek merchant, settled at Berenice in Southern Egypt, who carried on business with various places on the coasts of the Indian Ocean. It appears to be a sober, business-like compilation of nautical and commercial information. At the date when it was written the two chief seaports of India seem to have been Bargosa, in Sanskrit, Bhrigukachha, or the modern Baroach, on the West coast, 30 miles from the mouth of the Narmada or Narbudda, and Gange, evidently near one of the mouths of the Ganges, on the East, just as we have now Bombay on the West, and Calcutta on the East. Gange is mentioned also, as we have seen, by the Geographer Ptolemy, who wrote in the second

century A.D., as the chief town of the Gangaridae, who lived in the country near the mouths of the Ganges. Ptolemy mentions also, as a town on the Ganges, Tamralipti, with which the modern Tamruk is identified. The modern town of Tamruk is on the Rupnarain river, about 12 miles from its junction with the Hughli, but the courses of these rivers have, of course, changed, and it is very possible that the site may have been formerly on the bank of a branch of the Ganges. There is other evidence that, from very ancient times, Tamralipti was a noted seaport, and, especially an emporium of trade with Ceylon. The dates of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy were long after the fall of the Maurya Empire, but it is practically certain that under that Empire there must have been a great port at, or near, one of the mouths of the Ganges.

We have, so far, very little information about the state of Bengal from the downfall of the Maurya Empire, which may be placed about two centuries before Christ, till the fifth century A. D., when we find that Bengal, West of the Bhagtrathi, or Rada, formed part of the Gupta Empire, while northern and central and deltaic Bengal were comprised in a number of petty states, tributary to the empire.

At the beginning of the 5th century, during the reign of the Emperor Chandra Gupta II, or Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya, India was visited by the Chinese Pilgrim, Fa Hian, who spent three years at Pataliputra, and two years at Tamralipti, the modern Tamruk, which was then, evidently, a seaport of some magnitude, studying Sanskrit, and copying Buddhist manuscripts. From his account it is evident that the Government of the Gupta Empire at that time was highly advanced and efficient. The towns of Magadha, especially, were great and prosperous; charitable institutions were numerous; resthouses for travellers were provided on the highways, and the capital possessed an excellent free hospital, endowed by benevolent and educated citizens.

During the latter half of the fifth century, the Gupta Empire was shattered by the invasions of the Huns, who brought under their sway a great part of Northern India. The Huns were a vast population of savage tribes, who inhabited originally the steppes of Northern Asia, and thence, moving westward and southward, in search of subsistence for themselves and their flocks and herds, divided into two main streams, the one invading Eastern Europe, and following the course of the Volga, the other being directed towards the valley of the Oxus. The Hun tribes of the latter division, who become known as the Ephthalites, or White Huns, overran Persia, and what is now Afghanistan, and thence poured into India. Of these White Huns, who had been settled in the Valley of the Oxus, Gibbon says that their manners were softened, and even their features were insensibly improved by

the mildness of the climate, and their long residence in a flourishing province, which might still retain a faint impression of the arts of Greece. So it may be that the Huns who invaded India, were not as barbarous and savage as those who invaded Europe. The result of the Hun invasion of India was that such portion of the Gupta Empire as did not come under their sway was divided among a number of minor states, the Gupta Dynasty surviving as local chiefs of Magadha, with Pataliputra as their head-quarters.

About the year 528 A. D., a number of chiefs, under the leadership of Narasinhagupta, or Baladitya, King of Magadha, and Yasodharma, a Raja of Central India, combined against the Hun King, Mihiragula, on whom they inflicted a decisive defeat. This broke the back of the Hun power, and the tribes of Hun invaders appear to have split up and, in a sense, to have become absorbed in the general population. But, in India, different races have not coalesced in quite the same way as has been the case in Europe, and distinct tribes and castes of Hunnish or allied origin, such as the Gurjara or Gujara, survived in India, and may be recognised to this day. Certain of these Hunnish tribes, who attained political power, and founded states in different parts of northern, north-western, western, and central India, are believed to have been the ancestors of some of the existing Rajput clans. This subject is fully dealt with in a passage of Mr. Vincent Smith's book. Very little is known about the history of India during the second half of the 6th century, but it is probable that, at any rate in north-western India, which had suffered severely from the ravages of the Huns, and allied tribes, no paramount power existed,—the country was divided among a number of petty states.

At the beginning of the 7th century there rose into power the celebrated Harsha, who was originally chief of the small state of Thansewar to the north of Delhi. With regard to Harsha's origin and conquests, a considerable amount of information is furnished in a poetical work, the *Harsha Carita*, composed by Bana, a Brahman, who lived at Harsha's court and in the record of the travels of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, who visited India in Harsha's time.

Harsha's family was connected with the Gupta dynasty. His father, Prabhakara-Vardhana, was chief of Thansewar, and Prabhakara's mother was a princess of Gupta lineage. Harsha was Prabhakara's younger son. In the year 605 A. D., Prabhakara died, and was succeeded by his eldest son Rajyavardhana. Prabhakara had been at war with the Huns settled in the north-western Punjab, and a people known as the Malavas, who probably inhabited the country now called Malwa. If we look at the map we see that Thansewar, Prabhakara's capital, is at a considerable distance from Malwa. From the fact that Prabhakara made war on the Malavas we may

infer that their country and his adjoined one another. We do not know where the frontier was.

These hostilities continued after Prabhākara died, and Rajyavardhana came to the throne, in 605 A. D., and, from the accounts quoted, it appears that, shortly after his accession, Rajyavardhana was killed by one Sasanka, a chief from Bengal, who had allied himself with the Mālavas.

About Sasanka there is a good deal of obscurity. He is described as Raja of Gauda by Bana, in the *Harsa Carita*, and by Yuan Chwang as Raja of Karna Savarha.

This is perhaps the place to discuss the meanings associated with the name Gauda or Gaur. The name is now applied to the well-known ruins of a great city in the district of Malda, but, in ancient times it seems to have connoted a country, kingdom, or empire, rather than a city. In its narrower sense it appears to have been applied, in certain writings at any rate, to Northern Bengal, and especially to the tract of comparatively high land which I mentioned a little while ago, comprising portions of what are now the Malda, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Bogra districts, and known as Varendra or Varendri, and it was distinguished from Vanga or southern and central Bengal. When the rulers of Northern Bengal became powerful, and extended their sway over the adjacent countries, the Gauda came to include them also. In some records we find references to Panchagauda or the five Gaudas. This has been interpreted as referring to five provinces included in the Gauda empire, but it may be that the number, five, in the expression referred to, was employed vaguely, as it sometimes is in Indian languages, and indicated merely all the provinces included in the Gauda empire, or the whole empire. As a curious instance of the use of the word Gauda I may mention that, in the Assam valley, a common name for Muhammadans is Goriya or Gauriya, and the origin of that name appears to be that many Muhammadans in the Assam valley are descendants of people who migrated there from Bengal at a time when Bengal was known in Assam as Gauda. The capital of the kingdom or Empire of Gauda was located at different places from time to time. In ancient India it was common enough for ruling dynasties to shift their capitals, and so the capital of Gauda appears to have been once at the place known as Mahasihān in Bogra, for some time at the site of the present ruins of Gaur, at another time at a city called Ramavati, the site of which has not been indentified, again at Bijaypur, the site of which is said to have been where we find now a village called Bijaynagar near Godagari in Rajshahi district.

As already mentioned, Yuan Chwang refers to Sasanka as King of Karnasuvarha. That name appears to have been applied to part of western and central Bengal, the capital of which was located at Rangamati, a site on

the right or western bank of the Bhagtrathi river about 12 miles south of Murshidabad, where many remains of archaeological interest have been found. At Rangamati the bank of the river rises to a height of between 100 and 200 feet, being composed of a stiff reddish clay, whence the name, which signifies 'red earth.' It is a name given to different places, where high banks of red soil exposed by the action of a river form a conspicuous feature in the landscape, and such places have, in more instances than one, been chosen for important towns and forts, which would naturally be built for choice on sites affording a firm foundation, and above the reach of inundation. It may very well be, then, that, in Sasanka's time, a town known as *Karāsuvachā*, on the site of the present Rangamati in Murshidabad, was the recognised capital of the Kingdom of Gauda, ruled over by Sasanka, which may have included the greater part of Bengal, and also some adjacent territory to the northwest.

Mr. Vincent Smith suggests that Sasanka was a scion of the Gupta Dynasty. I am not sure what the foundation for this surmise may be, but, if it is correct, it is interesting to note that Sasanka's great opponent, Harsa, was also descended from the Gupta royal family, through his grandmother, the mother of Prabhakara. However this may be, it is certain that Sasanka was, in his time, a great and powerful sovereign. It is a far cry from Murshidabad to Malwa, but it is quite certain, and attested alike by the Brahman Chronicler Bana, and the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang, that Sasanka allied himself with the Malavas, made war against Thaneshwar, and compassed the death of Harsa's elder brother and predecessor, *Rājyavardhana*. These facts suggest that Sasanka's dominions may have at one time extended as far as the limits of the Malava territory, or nearly so. It also appears from Yuan Chwang's account that Sasanka, who was a worshipper of Siva, persecuted Buddhists, and desecrated objects of Buddhist veneration at Bodhi Gaya, at Pataliputra, or Patna, and up to the foot of the Nepal Hills. This would show that Sasanka conquered, or at least, at one time, overran the province now known as Bihar.

Rājyavardhana's death occurred in October 606 A. D., and Harsa's era starts from that date, but, for some reason or other, which has not been made clear, there appears to have been some doubt or difficulty about his accession, and he was not formally crowned, or consecrated, till six years later, or 612 A. D. As to the hostilities which ensued between Harsa and Sasanka, we have no detailed record, but there is evidence, in the form of a copper-plate deed, showing that Sasanka was still in power in 619 A. D., Yuan Chwang, who came to India in 630 A. D., refers to Sasanka as a recent king, and does not mention any successor.

We know, on the evidence of Bana and Yuan Chwang, that Harsa established a great empire in Northern India by a career of conquest

extending over 30 years from 612 to about 643 A. D., and it seems probable that he eventually defeated Sasanka, and either annexed his territory, or reduced it to the position of a feudatory state. Yuan Chwang mentions Pundravardhana as a feudatory state subject to Harsha's empire, and gives a description of the capital of that state, which bore the same name. The site of this town, from his description, has been identified as the place known as Mahasthan, where remains of an ancient city may be seen, a few miles north of the town of Bogra. In later times, as appears from copper-plate grants of the Pala Kings, Pundravardhanabhukti was a territorial division of their kingdom. Yuan Chwang mentions the Raja of Kamarupa, who appears to have had two names—Bhaskara-Varma and Kumara, as a friend and ally of Harsha. We do not know what the extent of the kingdom of Kamarupa at that time was. Traditionally, the capital of Kamarupa was Pragjyotishpur—the modern Gauhati, and its western boundary, separating it from Varendra, was the Tista, or Karatoya River. The course of the Tista, as we all know, has been subject to great changes, and portions of rivers, or abandoned river beds, bearing locally the name of Karatoya are found in different places in the Jalpaiguri, Rangpur and Bogra districts, probably marking some ancient course of the great river. A narrow sluggish stream called Karotoya flows through the Bogra district from north to south skirting the Mahasthan site and the town of Bogra on the east.

Eastward, the kingdom of Kamrup, at times of its greatest expansion, has included the whole of the Assam Valley, and also the Surma Valley, that is, the modern districts of Sylhet and Cachar, and, probably, also part of Eastern Bengal. At other times the area of this ancient Kingdom was much more restricted. Its modern representative is the state of Kuch Bihar.

We have it, then, that, in the latter part of Harsha's reign,—say between the years 630 and 647 A. D., Western and Central Bengal were included in his empire, either as feudatory states, or as territory directly under his administration. Part of north-eastern Bengal, namely the kingdom of Pundravardhana, was a feudatory state of the Empire, while the kingdom of Kamarupa, which may have included parts of North-eastern and Eastern Bengal, was ruled by a sovereign bound to Harsha by close ties of alliance and friendship. The importance of the fact of Bengal's connection with Harsha's empire lies in the light which it throws on the state of civilisation and the social and political institutions of the country in the seventh century A. D. The authority of the Chinese Pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who spent fourteen years in India, visiting different parts of Harsha's dominions, including many places in Bengal, proves that the country was then in a fairly high state of civilisation, with a regular and, on the whole, well-ordered government, and institutions of a somewhat advanced type.

The bulk of the population was divided between the two main

religions,—Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism, sharply antagonistic, in some respects, in principles and ideals. Jainism was of less importance, but had some hold in Eastern Bengal. The adherents of these different faiths lived generally in amicable relations, which were, however, at times disturbed by outbreaks of fanaticism. The Emperor, Harsa, had changed his religion from time to time, but, in his later years, became a devout Buddhist. His government, though, no doubt, favouring the religion, to which the sovereign adhered, for the time being, was tolerant, on the whole, and endowed both Buddhist and Hindu religious and charitable institutions.

At the death of Harsa, at the end of the year 647, or beginning of 648 A.D., his throne was usurped by one Arjuna or Arunasva, one of his Ministers. This led to an invasion of Bihar by Thibetans and Nepalese in the following way. Harsa had carried on diplomatic relations with China, and, in 646, an envoy named Wang Hian Tse was despatched by the Chinese, with a small escort, to Harsa's court. Before the mission could reach Patna, however, Harsa had died, and Arjuna or Arunasva, who had usurped the throne, received the mission badly, and massacred the escort. The envoy, Wang Hian Tse, however, and another Chinese diplomatist, who accompanied him, escaped to Nepal. At that time Nepal was in close relations with, and probably dependent on Thibet, the daughter of King Amsuvarman, founder of the Thakuri dynasty of Nepal, having been given in marriage to the great King of Thibet, Srongtsan Gampo. This is the sovereign who is reputed to have founded the city of Lhasa, and to have had the greatest influence in propagating the Buddhist religion in Thibet. The story is that when he was quite young, he married 6st, the princess Bhrikuti, the daughter of King Amsuvarman of Nepal, and afterwards the Princess Wanchang, daughter of the Chinese Emperor Tai Tsong, and that these ladies, who were both devoted Buddhists, converted their husband to Buddhism. King Srongtsan Gampo has been deified in Thibet as an incarnation of Buddha Avalokitesvara, or the Saviour, and the memory of his two wives is cherished by Buddhists in that country, the Nepalese lady being known as the "Green Tara," and the Chinese as the "White Tara." When, therefore, the Chinese envoy, Wang Hian Tse, fled to Nepal, both the the Nepalese ruler, Amsuvarman, and the Thibetan King, Srong-Tsan-Gampo, befriended him, and sent troops to his assistance, at the head of whom he invaded Bihar, defeated the usurper, Arjuna or Arunasva, and took him prisoner.

We have very little information about Bengal from the death of Harsa, about the middle of the seventh till the accession of the first Pala King, Gopala, at the end of the eighth century, A.D. Harsa's death was followed by the dissolution of the empire, which he had built up, and, probably, during

the period referred to, the territory of Bengal was divided among a number of petty chiefs, often at war among themselves, or with the rulers of similar small states outside Bengal.

We have a record of one Adityasena, belonging to what is known as the later Gupta Dynasty, who, after Harsa's death, asserted his independence in Magadha, or South Bihar. Some part of Bengal may have included in the dominions of that King and his successors, of whom the latest known is Jivita Gupta II, who reigned early in the eighth century.

An invasion of Bengal by Yasovarman, King of Kauraj, which is believed to have taken place about the beginning of the eighth century, A. D., is described, or rather referred to, in a poem in prakrit entitled *Gaudavaho* by an author named *Vakpatiraj*, who resided at Yasovarman's court, also adorned by Bhavabhuti, the author of the celebrated Sanskrit play, *Malatimadhava*. The poem *Gaudavaho*, a title which means in prakrit "the slaying of Gauda," or "the slaying of the King of Gauda" has been edited by Mr. Sankar Pandurang Pandit.

As a source of history it is of very little value, as, while it contains copious and highly ornate and elaborate descriptions of countries said to have been conquered by Yasovarman, including some passages of real literary merit, it gives practically no definite information about the conquest or campaign or series of campaigns, to which it refers. In fact, so disappointing is it in this respect that the learned editor has surmised that the work, which has come down to us, and which he has edited, may be only an introduction to *Vakpatiraj's* poem.

From the versified chronicle of Kashmir, the *Rajatarangini*, it appears that Yasovarman was signally defeated about the year 740 A. D., by the great King of Kashmir, *Muktapida*, or *Lalitaditya*, the builder of the famous temple of the sun at Martanda, still existing, who extended his dominions far beyond the normal mountain limits of Kashmir. Yasovarman was succeeded on the throne by *Vajrayudha*, and he again, as appears from the *Rajatarangini*, was defeated and dethroned by *Muktapida's* successor, *Jayapida*. In the meanwhile, it appears probable, Bengal had been invaded by a King of Kamrup named *Harsadeva*. The evidence for this rests on an inscription of a Nepalese chief named *Jayadeva* (dated, 758 A.D.), in which it is stated that he married *Harsadeva's* daughter. In this inscription *Harsadeva* is referred to as "Lord of Gauda, Udra, Kalinga, and Kosala." Gauda would indicate, as I have said, Northern Bengal, or, possibly, the whole of Bengal. Udra means Orissa; Kalinga, that part of the Madras Presidency, which is now known as the Northern Sarkars; and Kosala the hill country to the west of Orissa, which is now included in different tributary states. From the inscription just referred to *Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri* and *Babu*

Rakhāldās Bannerji have inferred that King Harsadeva of Kamrup conquered completely the countries just mentioned, and included them in his dominions, but I do not think that this is quite a safe inference, having regard to the caution with which, as I said just now, the panegyrics of Indian Kings in inscriptions must be taken. The city of Pundravardhana figures in a romantic story in the *Rajatarangini*, which describes how, when Jayapīṭa, King of Kashmir, was absent from Kashmir on an expedition, his brother-in-law contrived to usurp the throne, and, subsequently, Jayapīṭa, being deserted by most of his troops, went first to Prayaga, the modern Allahabad, and, afterwards, made his way, alone and in disguise, to Pundravardhana, where he lived in hiding for a time. Later on his identity was discovered, and he married the daughter of Jayanta, King of Pundravardhana, whom he helped to defeat the five kings of Gauda, and established as ruler of the whole country. The city of Pundravardhana, the site of which, it will be remembered, has been identified from Yuan Chwang's description as Mahasthan, near Bogra, is described in the *Rajatarangini* as beautiful and well-governed. There is no other record of King Jayantā, and the whole story is dismissed by Mr. Vincent Smith, with some reason, as fabulous. At the same time, there is some difficulty in thus disposing of a part of the chronicle, which has been accepted as containing a good deal of historical material. Mahamahopādhyaya Haraprasad Sāstri and Babu Rakhāldās Bannerji accept the story of Jayapīṭa's visit to Pundravardhana, and his relations with King Jayantā, and they, apparently, regard Jayapīṭa as having helped Jayanta to throw off his allegiance to Harsadeva of Kamrup, whom they regard as having conquered Bengal.

But we have no certain evidence of that conquest, and there is no mention of Harsadeva of Kamrup in the *Rajatarangini*. It is stated there that Jayanta defeated the five kings of Gauda, and became paramount ruler of the country. This may merely mean that he established a hegemony over the petty chiefs, among whom Bengal, or a portion of it, was divided at the time.

We may take it as established that, in the first half of the eighth century, the kingdom of Kashmir, under its great ruler, Muktapīṭa, or Lalitāditya, was extended so as to include a considerable part of the Panjab plains, and that rivalry and hostility arose between the state of Kashmir, as thus extended, and the state of Kanauj on its eastern border. We have also the evidence, such as it is, of the Gaudavaho that, at the beginning of the eighth century, Bengal had been invaded by Yasovarma, ruler of Kanauj, who was afterwards signally defeated by Muktapīṭa, King of Kashmir. It would not, then, be very surprising if Muktapīṭa's successor, Jayapīṭa, found allies among the Northern Bengal Chiefs, and organised a confederacy headed by

one of them. This is all the information we have about Bengal from the death of the Emperor Harsa in the middle of the seventh till about the middle of the eighth century. About that time, as appears from inscriptions, the Gurjara king, Vatsa, invaded Kanauj, and also Bengal. Babu Rakhaldas Bannerji refers to a conquest of Bengal by Vatsa, but I do not think that anything more than a successful incursion can safely be inferred from the inscriptions. Shortly after this invasion of Bengal, as appears from inscriptions of the Rashtrakuta dynasty, which had established itself in the Deccan, Vatsa was attacked and defeated by Govinda III of that dynasty, and driven into the Rajputana desert.

At this juncture, Gopala, the founder of the Pala dynasty of Bengal came to the throne of Gauda. I say advisedly the Pala dynasty of Bengal, because, as I shall show later on, there was in later times also a Pala dynasty of Kanauj and the names of kings and chiefs of other parts of India ended with the suffix Pala. Nothing is known of the origin of the family, to which Gopala belonged, although we have the names of his father and grandfather, but we have, regarding him, the interesting information that he came to throne by election. This information is furnished in a copperplate grant found at Khālimpur in Malda district, and is corroborated by a history of Buddhism written in Tibetan in the sixteenth century by a Lama named Tārānāth. As is well known, there was for several centuries close intercourse between the Buddhists of Bengal and Tibet, and Tārānāth's work, which is probably based on chronicles preserved in the monasteries in Tibet, may be taken as quite good evidence on the point.

Babu Akhoy Kumar Maitra has argued from the fact that Gopala came to the throne by election, that the rule of the Palas had a democratic basis, and Babu Rakhaldas Bannerji speaks of Gopala having been elected by the populace. We have, however, no clear information as to how the election was carried out, or who the electors were. The word used in the Khālimpur inscription is 'prakriti' in the plural—"prakritibhih." "Prakriti" in Sanskrit has, among other meanings, the meaning of "the constituent elements of the state, e.g., the King, the ministers, subjects, &c.,"—I quote from Capeller's Sanskrit Dictionary. We may hazard the guess that Gopala's election was not a democratic election in any sense—it was probably an election by the local chiefs and notables. The inscription states that the election was held with the object of removing a condition of misgovernment or anarchy. The expression used to describe the state of things, which Gopala's election was intended to remove, is "mātsyanyāyam," the literal English translation of which is a "fishy" or "fishlike" system or condition of things. This has an odd sound in English, but it may be worth while to glance at the explanation of this well-known expression. There are a number of ancient Sanskrit writings

called *Artha-Sastras*, which deal, among other matters, with the subject of political science. The authors of these works lay great stress on the necessity for a well-governed state, of having a strong central authority capable of protecting the good and punishing the wicked. The condition of a state or country, in which there is no such strong, central authority, they picture as a condition of anarchy, or disorder, the special feature of which is that the strong prey upon the weak, just as the larger fish prey upon the smaller. I am not sure whether the custom of the strong devouring the weak is more specially characteristic of fish than of other departments of creation, but this is the simile used in the ancient Sanskrit books on *Arthashastra* to describe the state of anarchy, which arises, when there is no strong central authority in the State.

It will be convenient here to examine shortly, in the light of the evidence available, the general political condition of Northern India, at the time when *Gopāla* was elected ruler of *Gauḍa*, that is, towards the end of the eighth century A. D. At that time, a powerful State embracing *Rajputāna* and part of the Punjab, had been established by the *Gurjaras* or *Gujars* who, it will be remembered, were probably descendants of some of the Huns, or tribes allied to them, by whom Northern India was invaded in the 5th century, with its capital at *Bhinmal* near *Mount Abu*. The ruling clan of the *Gurjaras* bore the name of *Pratihāra* or *Parihār*. Directly to the south of this state lay the kingdom of the *Rashtrakutas*, extending over part of the *Deccan*, with its capital at *Nasik*, and an offshoot in what is now *Gujarat*. The origin of the *Rashtrakutas* is uncertain, but Mr. Vincent Smith surmises that they originated in one or other of the indigenous tribes of the *Deccan*. There was chronic warfare between the *Gurjaras* and the *Rashtrakutas*, and, at the same time, the *Gurjaras* were pushing eastwards and threatening, and sometimes invading, *Kanauj* and *Bengal*. At this time *Kashmir* had declined in power, and ceased to play an important part in the affairs of Northern India. At the moment of *Gopāla's* accession, as we have seen, the *Gurjaras* had lately invaded *Bengal*, but had afterwards been defeated by the *Rashtrakutas*, and, on doubt, suffered temporarily in power and prestige in consequence. In the circumstances, it is not surprising to find the first *Pāla* kings of *Bengal* united in alliance and friendship with the *Rashtrakutas* of the *Deccan*.

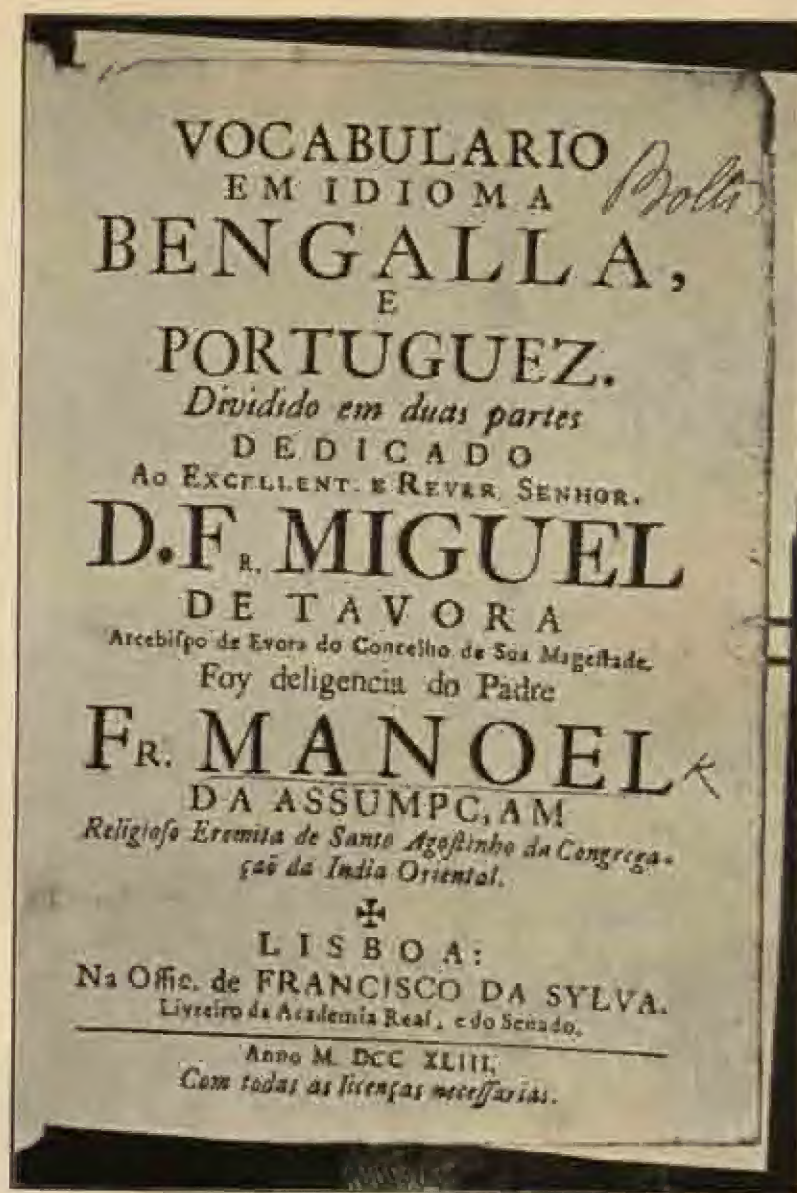
To the west of the *Gurjara* territory, and separated from it by the channel of the lost river *Hakra* or *Wahinda*, lay the country of *Sind*, already under *Muhammadan* rule, having been conquered by the Arabs at the beginning of the eighth century. There was constant warfare between the *Gurjaras* and the *Muhammadans* of *Sind*;—on the other hand, the latter maintained friendly relations with the *Rashtrakutas*, and *Muhammadan* merchants and travellers

had free access to the Western India ports which were in Rashtrakuta territory. It is interesting to us to note that those early Muhammadan settlers on Indian soil were the friends, and sometimes the allies, of the Rashtrakutas, who were the allies of the Bengalis of that day. To complete the sketch, I may say that, at this period, the throne of Kanauj was occupied by Indrayudha the successor of Vajrayudha who, it will be remembered, was defeated and dethroned by Jayapida, King of Kashmir.

We know little further about the reign of Gopala, but from what we do know about the career of his son and successor, Dharmapala, it would seem that Gopala must have had a prosperous reign, and consolidated the power of the Gauda state, extending it over Magadha. Gopala was, by religion, a Buddhist, as were all the sovereigns of the Bengal Pala dynasty, who succeeded him, and, under their rule, Buddhism was the religion of a large section of the population of Bengal, and, in a certain sense, the state religion. But the Palas also tolerated, and even endowed, Brahmanical Hinduism, the two religions existing more or less amicably side by side, as is found to have been generally the case in Northern India from a very early period of history. Gopala is credited by tradition with the foundation of the great monastery of Uddandapura, which occupied the site of the small modern town of Bihar.

F. J. MONAHAN.

[*To be continued.*]



Title Page of M. da Assumpção's Bengali Vocabulary of 1743.
(The Book seems to have belonged to Mr. Bolts.)

The Three First Type-Printed Bengali Books.

[SECOND ARTICLE].

I published a First Article on this subject in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IX, July—Dec. 1914, pp. 49—63, in which I described in full a copy of Fr. Manoel da Assumpção's *Compendio dos Mysteries da Fé*, or No. 2 of Manoel da Assumpção's three Bengali Books printed at Lisbon in 1743:

Since then, Sir George A. Grierson, the well known author of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, was kind enough to make a search for the two other works, with the result that the existence in the British Museum of two copies of Manoel da Assumpção's Vocabulary in Bengali and Portuguese (Cf. No. 3 in my First Article, p. 42) was pointed out by Prof. L. Barnett, Keeper of the Oriental Printed Books and MSS. Prof. L. Barnett sent me through Sir George A. Grierson a note on the two books and a photographic reproduction of the title-page (Plate I) and of pp. 532-533 (Plate II).

The press-marks of the two copies of the *Vocabulario* are 828 a. 8 and G. 16,741. The former, which wants pp. 41—48, formerly belonged to Sir Charles Wilkins. As for the second, here is Prof. L. Barnett's excellent description, for which I tender him my sincere thanks.

"*Vocabulario em Idioma Bengalla e Portuguez. Dividido em duas partes... Foy deligencia do Padre Fr. Manoel da Assumpçam. Lisboa, 1743.*

"The copy of this book G. 16, 741 is 4 inches in width and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height; but it has been considerably cropped in binding. It belonged to the Hon. Thomas Grenville.

"It begins with a dedication to Fr. Miguel de Tavora, Archbishop of Evora, by Fr. George da Apresentação. Then come a "Prologo ao leytor, e missionario novo," the Censur of the same Fr. George, and licences from the Holy Office, &c. Then begins the "Breve Compendio da Grammatica Bengala." Paradigms and specimen sentences are used. The nouns are divided into 4 declensions; examples are—of the 1st., *lohó*, Iron, *xtri*, woman; of the 2nd., *Beormó*, God; *Camp*, service; of the 3rd., *oxuxtta*, disease; of the 4th., *marod*, he-mule, *pap*, sin. The present tense of the substantive verb is given thus: *Ami hoí. vel Ami q; Tu, vel tomi hoix, v. q;*

u, hoe, *vel* tini hoen; Amora boi, *vel* q; Tora, *vel* tomota hoix: Oara hoe, *vel* Tahana born. After the substantive verbs is given, as the type of all other verbs, the verb "to do": amī cori, etc. Then begins on p. 21 the syntax. The first part of the vocabulary, the Bengali-Portuguese, begins on p. 41. It is supplemented by a list of attributes of God on p. 303, the first of which is: Rhixiqueux, esta no coração de todos, i in corde existens seu dominans, [*i.e.*, the Sanskrit Hrishikē'sa]. Then come the names of the planets, and of the signs of the zodiac. On p. 307 begins the second part of the vocabulary, the Portuguese-Bengali, which is followed on p. 578 by a list of nouns that have some resemblance in pronunciation. The book contains xi, 592 pages, and seems to be a good practical guide."

There remains only one of Manuel da Assumpção's books to discover, viz., his Catechism of the Christian Doctrine, composed by the son of the King of Burma, Don Antonio, and translated into Portuguese by Fr. Manoel da Assumpção. The Bengali and Portuguese were printed on opposite pages at Lisbon by Francisco da Silva, 1743, 8vo. A MS. copy is in the Public Library of Evora.

ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE,
CALCUTTA.

H. HOSTEN, S. J.

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Vocabulario

Resto, Baqui.
 Respeito, i, por esse Ei caron; Ei onth, respeito.
 Resistir, Phiria dite.
 Restituição, Phiria deon.
 Refuscar, Zia utthit.
 Ressurreição dos mortos, Zia utthon.
 Retalho, Qhan, Baqui.
 Retardar, Bilombo, Dirongó co-rité.
 Reter o alheyo, Porer mal raqhité, Gopto.
 Ratificar, Dhoraité; Phiria co-rité.
 Retiro, Ontor, Ghuchon.
 Retirar-se, Ontorité; Pharagholté.
 Retumbar, Xobdo dite.
 Retorno, Phiria aixon.
 Retroceder, Paçhuaité Phirité.
 Retrete, Balqhana; Chup qhanna.
 Retorta couza, Beca; Becania bosto.
 Retrox, Pacania rexom.
 Revelar, Gopto zanaité; Becto corité.
 Revelação, Gopter zanan. Re;

Portuguez, e Bengalla.

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Rever, i, tornar aver, Phiria deqhite.
 Reverencia, Bhorom.
 Rever, i, irse olicor. Chuité.
 Rever-se no espelho, Arxité deqhité.
 Reverenciar, i, ter respeito, Xêba corité.
 Reverenciar, Xeba corité; Bhoçhi corité.
 Reverdecer, Taza hoite.
 Revetzada couza, Phira, Gihura.
 Revez, Uitta.
 Revolta, i, bulha, Zhogora, Bibad.
 Revoltezo, Zhogorania; Bibad-dhi.
 Revolver, Ulott, pulott corité.
 Rezaõ, i, caua, Caron.
 Rezam, i, justiça, Uchite.
 Reza, Zopon.
 Rezar, Zopité, Zopon corité.
 Rezina, Dhuip.
 Resolução, Nissuc, Nirupon.
 Resolver-se, Corar corité.
 Resoluto, Xaosi, Mordanta.
 Relumido, Olpo.
 Riba, i, arriba, Upor.
 Ribancieira, i, borda do rio, par, Quinar, Cul.
 Ribeiro, Nala, Cala.
 Rico, Rico.

Statistics relating to Officers of the Bengal Army, 1760-1834.

THE following table compiled chiefly from Dodwell and Miles' *Bengal Army List, 1760-1834*, published in 1838, requires but few explanatory notes by way of introduction.

Taking the above-mentioned list as a basis from which to work, additions and corrections have been obtained from various authoritative sources too numerous to mention. By this means, particulars concerning the date and place of death, resignation, etc., of a large number of Officers have been procured; the total being sufficiently large to entitle the averages given below to be considered as fairly representative of the whole.

Dodwell and Miles furnish a list extending to 6,549 names. Of this total, after adding 8 names omitted, and deducting 1,557 regarding whom details are still lacking, we are left with a substantial balance of exactly 5,000. This figure has, therefore, in every case, been taken as the denominator for the purpose of working out the percentage.

Statistical Table.

- (a) *Died in India*, including Barma, Ceylon, Persia and Afghanistan:— $2,202 = 44.04\%$
- (b) *Killed in action*:— $215 = 4.30\%$
- (c) *Died of wounds sustained in action*:— $52 = 1.04\%$
- (d) *Massacred, ghaated, etc.*:— $31 = 0.62\%$
- (e) *Accidental deaths*:— $16 = 0.32\%$
- (f) *Killed in duels*:— $17 = 0.34\%$
- (g) *Drowned in India*:— $36 = 0.72\%$
- (h) *Lost at sea*:— $52 = 1.04\%$
- (i) *Died at sea*:— $164 = 3.28\%$
- (k) *Killed in action at sea*:— $6 = 0.12\%$
- (l) *Died insane*:— $11 = 0.22\%$
- (m) *Died abroad*, excluding India and the continent of Europe:— $80 = 1.60\%$
- (n) *Died in Great Britain*:— $167 = 3.34\%$
- (o) *Retired and pensioned in Great Britain*:— $201 = 4.00\%$
- (p) *Pensioned on Lord Clive's Fund*:— $20 = 0.40\%$

- (q) *Cashiered and dismissed by Court Martial*:—113=2.26%.
- (r) *Resigned as subalterns*:—434=8.68%.
- (s) *Transferred to the Civil Service*:—16=3.32%.
- (t) *Transferred to H. M. Service*:—17=0.34%.
- (u) *Transferred to the Madras Establishment*:—16=0.32%.

N.B. Every one of the above headings is independent of every other heading. The following three are partially included in the foregoing, as noted against them.

- (v) *Retired and pensioned in India*:—107=2.14%.
- [25 included under (a).]
- (w) *Invalided*:—205=4.10%.
- [103 included under (a); 5 under (i).]
- (x) *Rose to the rank of Major-General*:—124=2.48%.
- [47 included under (a); 1 under (h); 50 under (n).]

Notes.

(a) *Died in India, etc.* Of this total Calcutta, including Alipore and Ballygunge, contributes 347; Barrackpore 79. Nine officers died as Cadets at the Barasat Cadet College: one a Subaltern, died in the Calcutta jail at the beginning of the last century. By far the largest number of these deaths were, of course, attributable to the various diseases incident to a tropical climate. It is to be regretted that no details are available as to what number of deaths were due to malaria, cholera, etc. In one or two cases only is the cause of death noted as "a flux"—dysentery presumably. In a few cases, similarly, the disease which terminated fatally is described as "jungle fever."

(b) *Killed in action.* This total is, perhaps, somewhat incomplete. Although at first sight it may appear to be absurdly small, it must be remembered that battles in India during the period with which we are now dealing were far less sanguinary than those of more modern times. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that a portion only of the casualties during the Sikh Wars occurred amongst Officers commissioned prior to 1834: in the case of the Indian Mutiny the percentage is, of course, considerably smaller.

(c) *Died of wounds sustained in action.* The foregoing remarks are applicable.

(d) *Massacred, etc.* In this category are included deaths by violence under the following headings:—*Ghased*, poisoned, "slain by banditti," killed by dacoits, killed by mutineers and murdered.

(e) *Deaths caused by accident or misadventure.* e.g.—Shikar—gun accidents, (3): Riding, (6): Driving, (1): Struck by lightning, (1): Sunstroke, (4): Died from fatigue, (1). It is curious to note that no deaths are recorded as having been due to wild animals or to snake-bite.

(f) *Killed in duels.* Of these duels, 4 only took place during the 19th Century, the latest recorded date being 15th October, 1837.

(g) *Drowned in India.* Not a large percentage when one considers to what a great extent means of transport and communication were, in those days, limited to water-ways. Comparatively few deaths were attributable to bathing. The remainder would appear to have been due to attempts at crossing rivers whilst in flood during the rains.

(h) *Lost at sea.* Of these 22 are accounted for by the loss of the *Skelton Castle* on the 5th November, 1806. She had on board a Lieut.-Colonel, a Major and 20 Cadets of the year 1805, all of whom perished. Three Cadets of the year 1804 who were "lost at sea going out" may also possibly have been passengers by the *Skelton Castle*. Three Officers lost their lives when the H. C. Ship "Duke of Athol" was blown up whilst at anchor in Madras Roads on the 19th April, 1783. (*Vide Love's Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. III, p. 263). Other ships which were lost with Officers on board were:—

The *Glory*, 20th November, 1808. (2)

The *Experiment*, 20th November, 1808. (2)

The *Lady Burgess*, off Bonavista, 20th April, 1806. (2)

The *Severn* packet, 16th April, 1785. (1)

The *Charles Eaton*, 25th September, 1834. (1)

The *Cornwallis*, 1822. (1)

The *Calcutta*, 14th March, 1809. (1)

The *Thames*, 1st February, 1828. (1)

The *Tigris*, 26th May, 1836. (1)

The *Protector*, off the Sandheads, 19th October, 1838. (1)

H. M. S. *Canning*, off the coast of Juggernaut, 6th July, 1820. (1)

The *Ocean*, in China seas, September, 1810. (1)

(i) *Died at sea.* The great majority of these deaths naturally occurred on the homeward voyage, that is to say, amongst sick Officers proceeding either to the Cape or to England for the benefit of their health.

(k) *Killed in action at sea.* Three Cadets were killed on board the *Wyndham* in action with the French Frigate *La Manche* on the 18th November, 1809. One Captain was killed on the *Sybella* Frigate in action with *La Forte*, French Frigate, on the 28th February, 1799. A Lieut.-Col. was killed on the *Lord Nelson* in action with the *Bellona*, French Frigate, in August, 1803 and a Subaltern was killed on board the *Triton* in 1795.

(l) *Died insane.* Amongst this number are included four cases of suicide.

(m) *Died abroad.* Under this heading are included deaths in New South Wales, Java, Singapore, Bencoolen (Sumatra), Isle of France

(Mauritius), the Cape, (St. Helena), Madeira, and Amboyna. It does not include those who died on the continent of Europe.

(n) *Died in Great Britain*. This total, with the exception of 30 Generals, (u), includes only such as are actually known to have died at home whilst still on the active list. London, naturally, furnishes the largest quota, followed closely, however, by Bath and Edinburgh.

(q) *Cashiered and dismissed by Court Martial*. The total appears large, viewed by modern standards; but one has only to refer to General Orders issued by the various Commanders-in-Chief during the Twenties and Thirties of last century, more particularly perhaps under the régimes of Sir Edward Paget and Lord Combermere, to see how frequently it was considered necessary in those days to bring Officers to trial before a General Court Martial. Dodwell and Miles do not specify the charges. Eleven out of this total were subsequently restored on appeal to the Court of Directors.

In addition to those actually dismissed, 2 Officers were struck off for having obtained their appointment by improper means; whilst 16 others were struck off for being over five years absent from India on furlough. These last account for a further 0.36%.

(r) *Resigned as Subalterns*. Amongst these are 3 Cadets who "declined coming out," and 5 other Cadets who "did not arrive."

Sundry of these, exchanging the sword for the pen, went into business in Calcutta or elsewhere; others again, turning their swords into ploughshares, became Zemindars and Indigo planters. This list is exclusive of those officers who, having resigned in order to proceed on furlough beyond the Cape, were subsequently readmitted without prejudice to their rank in the Service.

(v) *Retired and pensioned in India*. These are exclusive of those who were awarded an Invalid pension, or were pensioned out of Lord Clive's Fund.

(w) *Invalided*. Of the 103 who are included under (a), 21 died at Chunar, 17 at Calcutta, 11 at Monghyr, and 6 at Serampore.

Miscellaneous. Three officers deserted. One, who had been cashiered and sent home, returned to India and was "taken in disguise." One, a Cadet, passenger by the *Glory*, was killed in an affray with natives at St. Salvador, on the 24th November, 1805. Two Officers died in France: two Generals died in Brussels, and one at San Remo.

Summary. It will be seen from the foregoing that a total of 37.62% deaths are known to have taken place outside the British Isles. 3.34% died, and 4.40% were pensioned at home.

Of the remaining 34.64% we may justifiably assume that not more than half died at home. 75% therefore, of the total number of deaths occurred over-seas. In other words, of every four Cadets of the H. E. I. C. S. who, during the period 1760 to 1834, left the shores of Great Britain in order to seek a military career in India, one, and one only, returned to lay his bones in his Mother country.

V. HOBSON.

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—X.

No. 443.

CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

The 19th May 1775.

My dear Sister,

I excused my attendance on the Council to-day in order to close my letters to you and finish my Minute dated the 17 instant. A few hours since I sent it to the Governor with a short note a copy of which and his reply is enclosed. I have not, however, followed his advice, as the mode adopted by General Clavering and of sending addresses immediately from themselves to the Court of Directors is a deviation from the rule prescribed by the Company's Regulations.

By the Governor's note you will see the prophetic spirit with which I related the intention and views of General Clavering, etc., in favour of the Rannee Bobanee, Zemindar of Rajshaye and her adopted son Raja Ram Kissen, though I must confess, I did not imagine the new members would have proceeded with so much rapidity to the end I knew they had in view.

P.S.—I have heard a Mr. Kelly highly spoken of. As a controversial writer his abilities may possibly be of service to my cause. Should it, as in all probability the affairs of this Government may be misrepresented in different publications, you will use his pen, cultivate his acquaintance and reward his labours in the gentlest and most unexceptionable manner. I have desired Mr. Oliver who is known to him to write to him and break the matter, for I understand he is to be led by inclination as well as rewards to give his friends the service of his pen, and that the latter will have an influence unless he is incited by the former inclination.

No. 444.

CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

The 19th May 1775.

My dear Sister,

It is difficult to replace the loss of an approved friend, how much more so one who to his social talents united others rarely to be met with in the world, but it is in vain to regret Mr. Hawkesworth, dear as he must ever be to our memories. He is now no more, and I am without that staff to lean on which my situation in this country and distance from England make at this instant of the utmost importance.

A friend to Mr. Kelly, a gentleman I esteem and of whom I have a high opinion, having expressed a wish to introduce me to his acquaintance, I accepted the invitation. From the character I have of this gentleman, allow me to bring you acquainted with him. You will, I hope, find in him a friend worthy to succeed in the esteem you had for Mr. Hawkesworth and, I flatter myself, your manner may no less recommend you to him and fix a mutual friendship.

No. 445.

CALCUTTA,

The 4th August 1775.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE LORD NORTH, ETC., ETC.

My Lord,

Since I had last the honour to pay my respects to you some incidents advantageous and disadvantageous to the interests of the Company have occurred.

The son of SaJa-ul-Doulah the present Nabob of Oude impelled by his necessities and the unsettled state of parties on his accession to his father's dominions has acquiesced to all the demands of the English Government, and I confess contrary to my expectations, answered our most sanguine wishes. A treaty is ratified in due form by which he engages to pay 3 lacs of rupees per annum for a bridgeway of British troops while he has occasion for their services in his country and further has ceded to the Company the lordship of Gazipore and its dependencies with a revenue of about 24 lacs per annum. This extraordinary grant which his distress and the precariousness of his Government has alone influenced him to make, is a vast acquisition to the internal resources of Bengal, and the Company who were before emerging from all its difficulties must in a short period of time, one year, become extremely rich in Bengal, but how far this exertion may operate to the prejudice of a further harmony between the Company and her ally when his Government shall be established, time will unravel, but, however that shall be, his power alone will not be able to effect anything to the detriment of Bengal, and the jealousy with which he is regarded by the neighbouring states as well as their want of confidence in each other, renders it next to impossible that they should ever associate to promote any hostile views, if such are ever formed by him for reannexing the alienated domain of Gazipore. Every day makes any attempt of this nature more difficult, and in proportion as we exhaust his wealth he becomes more enfeebled and dependant.

But this agreeable prospect in Bengal is clouded by an opposite scene on the western side of the Peninsula, where our troops are in the field and

expenses consequently incurred, the disbursements of which this Government must supply, but should the policy that influenced the Bombay Government to engage in the Mahratta War terminate successfully, the Company will be most fully reimbursed and Bengal no longer drained of her specie to support that Presidency. The measures pursued by the Council General on this occasion are simply directed to the termination of the War by a treaty with that party that may be in possession of the Mahratta Government when the embassy sent from Bengal arrives at Poona (the Mahratta capital). Whatever may be the general opinion of the war and whatever exceptions may justly be made to the conduct of the Bombay Government engaging on the side of Rogooboy at a time his circumstances were desperate and his armies entirely dispersed, the first difficulties surmounted, his influence must naturally revive and his party daily gather strength, while that of his opposers will be broken and distracted. The variety of political interests that must have been conciliated to form the confederacy which has driven Rogooboy from the Government of the Mahratta State is composed of such jarring principles that I shall be very much amazed indeed if their union proves of any long duration, and I am so sanguine as to suggest to your Lordship the greatest probability of Rogooboy's restoration before Col. Upton who is deputed by this Government to Poona can possibly arrive there. The unremitting efforts of the Ministerial army, to impede the advance of Rogooboy, the solicitude with which it attends his progress, and the precipitate and repeated attacks made upon his army, demonstrate the dread entertained of his reviving influence, and the importance and necessity of suppressing his power before it can restore and unite in its support the adherents of his House so lately dispersed, and as yet not completely subdued by the Confederate powers. For these reasons, My Lord, I conceive the danger that threatened the Bombay Government on the commencement of the war, is past and that the subsequent stages of it can neither be so fraught with peril or risk to the Company.

The Carnatic remains in peace, and Nizam Ally, Subahdar of the Deccan, lately confederated with Rogooboy's enemies has, I understand, withdrawn his forces and meditates an alliance with Rogooboy. The Mysore Chief Hydar Ally has an army assembled on the western borders of his dominions, his intentions are undeclared, but I suppose them nothing else than to seize opportunities as they arise and benefit himself at the expense of the Mahratta Government. There has been a whisper of the French having proffered assistance to the Ministerial party of the Maharattas, but of this our Government has no authentic information, nor can the rumour be traced.

In consequence of the intelligence transmitted by the Government of

Madras touching the State of Guntoor or Mustazahmagur and the European force kept up by Bhazalutjing, it has been judged necessary for securing the eventual succession to the Company on the demise of the Subahdar to insist on the dismissal of this force consisting entirely of French partizans. The instructions for this purpose are to march a force equal to the enterprize to this frontier, and to intimate upon its arrival to Bhazalutjing that if he judges an European force essential to the security of his dominions a detachment of English troops sufficient to that end shall be stationed with him—that as his entertaining French troops is incompatible with the spirit of the treaty subsisting between him and the English they must regard his conduct with jealousy unless the foreigners in his pay are immediately dismissed. The instructions go further—they enjoin absolutely the removal of the foreign troops and an alternative to be offered for Mootapilees the only sea port by which they can be introduced, even if a compliance is not to be obtained by fair means.

I wish it was in my power to give your Lordship the agreeable information of harmony being restored to our Councils, but this will not be without your Lordship's decisive interposition; the Governor-General without any powers beyond those vested in every individual Member of his Council cannot put a negative upon any one single measure and is subjected to every indignity that may be devised to render his situation uneasy and to compel him to a resignation. Hitherto he has borne all with patience and in full persuasion of relief, either by departing from this county if such is your Lordship's pleasure, or by being vested with authority that shall give his office the superiority it nominally holds to execute the functions of it with some degree of satisfaction to himself and of advantage to the public.

I am with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant

No. 446.

CALCUTTA,

The 5th August 1775.

TO LAWRENCE SULLIVAN, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

Your letter by the *Salisbury* of the 25th December 1774. I received by the *Colebrooke's* packet.

To write to you on subjects of controversy is tiresome and disagreeable, and as you will receive from Col. McLean a more full and comprehensive view of the distracted state of our Councils which has simply for its pursuit the destruction of Mr. Hastings's name and character and the vilifying the

Service throughout, I may as well decline entering into the particulars here. Every page of our Public Records teem with matter of private and personal discussion which neither directly nor remotely bear relation to the interests of the Company, however, intimately they blend with the passions and pointedly expose the aim of the majority. The catastrophe of Nund Comar the great instrument in the hands of General Clavering, etc., to work the purpose of the opposition, and the trials of Mr. Joseph Fowke, etc., for aiding and assisting in framing accusations against the Governor, etc., may, I hope, in some degree, avert the odium and fix it upon those who by such insidious means attempt to ruin him.

I confess, however, that I am by no means sanguine in my expectations. I plainly see, and I am hurt to see, the feeble of my friends; the malignant spirit of envy and detraction under the mask of the public good, stalks imprudently abroad, and the *Fiat Justitia* is called upon not to weigh the merits of the men, but to cancell their services. What should we say to a pretended connoisseur, who after contemplating the beauties of a painting declared it worthless, and a specious outside. We should be apt to say, he is a fool who looks further, or worse—but the epithet is too gross to write and I flatter myself, there may still be found so much candor in the world as to oppose this illiberal and absurd test of merit. Men who will acknowledge that the composition of the greatest characters is an heterogeneous mass and that the finishing alone stamps the worth as the effect proposed to be produced is answered, must declare that Mr. Hastings has merit and esteem here in proportion to the services he has rendered the public without expecting that his easy chair shall have been wholly useless to him, or that he has not sweetened it with the Otta of Peshawar if it came in his way.

The decided line I have taken, as it has made me obnoxious to the opposition, so it has drawn upon me that degree of vindictive ill humour which seeks and hunts after the means to destroy the effects of any support I have given to Mr. Hastings, and I cannot but smile at their disappointment when after ransacking the whole country for something to impeach my conduct, the gentlemen are obliged to confine themselves to charge me with the atrocious crime of having engaged in a salt contract at Dacca under the name of a native, though there is nothing which should bring an imputation on my name in this transaction. Every act has been used to render it equivocal and ambiguous. I flatter myself, however, that I have set it in a clear light to the public, and fully refuted the accusation of my having sacrificed the Company's interests in the benefitting my own private fortunes in this instance.

When I went up to Dacca, I found that the Factory had bid for some of the salt farms or contracts, in the name of natives. When publication

was made for leasing them by the Committee and that the tenders being the lowest had been accepted, and the contracts become the property of the Factory, and that having pitched upon agents for the management of the manufacture to secure a faithful discharge of such agency, it became a condition with those agents that they should stand in the public leases as securities for the performance of the engagements. Upwards of a year after this transaction, I succeeded to the Dacca Chiefship and had three alternatives presented to me, 1st. to be a dupe and allow the managers to take to themselves the benefits to be derived from contracts in which they had no right; and to make it a matter of public accusation against my predecessor and the gentlemen who engaged in these contracts; or 2dly to succeed quietly to the right descended to me upon filling the station to which these contracts appertained. I preferred the latter, a preference for which I think no man of reason and candor will condemn me. If the engagements were improper in the first instance the imputation extends not to me who had nothing to do with them in that stage. I came to them after they had been irrevocably fixed, and when they admitted of no alteration or amendment. The insinuation of course that they were formed for my peculiar advantage in detriment to the public interest is one of the most absurd and ridiculous positions that could have been advanced. However, to erase every impression of private interest having an influence on my conduct, I set out with declaring that if the gentlemen would make out in any manner the Company's right to the advantages I had reaped, I would account with them for the last farthing; but if they made the advantages a contest between me and my managers whom I had dismissed upon proof of illicit practices in the salt business, and whom the gentlemen had influenced to complain as principals divested by me of their rights in the contracts, I had instituted suits against them at Law for the balances of their under-contracts to me, and would compel them to answer those balances. I further argued that in this case as the Government, the Council had no right to intermeddle, that the litigation was of a private nature, and that the decision of the Judicature alone ultimate and binding on the parties, and that I had before cautioned them that in evasion of the Laws and hopes built on the divided state of our Councils, the party sued by me had recourse to the Board insinuating thereby that its interposition would be injurious and unfair, unless the opposition had seriously intended any investigation to benefit the Company, and not merely to prejudice me. But all this was of no avail, and the gentlemen of the opposition without once thinking of gaining to the Company any past or subsequent advantages from the Dacca salt contracts rewarded my dishonest managers by conferring on them the rights of contractors, and placing them in the management of the business from which on account of the abuses committed

by them they had been removed. Had the object of the opposition been an investigation, or had I been at all disposed to suppress a public scrutiny, I would scarcely myself have prosecuted my dismissed agents or under-contractors, nearly two months preceding the time the opposition took up the matter. The conduct of the opposition on this occasion, therefore, appears inexplicable, unless it is accounted for upon principles no man will avow and no man will defend.

It is an observation of Rochefoucaults "that interest speaks all languages, and acts all parts even that of the disinterested person," and I confess I have so little charity for my contemporaries as to be firmly and fully persuaded, their conduct will verify this observation in almost every instance. The age is too enlightened to be deceived by vague professions, and the necessity must be obvious: which acquits a man of acting an invidious part. Let them then profess what they please. I hope and think that unless they can make out the necessity clear and apparent, they will obtain little credit and less reputation for the measures they have pursued and which they call necessary, though these cannot be attended with any one single advantage, but what is to derive to themselves, and consequently can have no other spring, no other object, than the advancement of themselves.

My situation is, indeed, disagreeable, little less so than Mr. Hastings; but with him, I am determined to act in the sphere assigned me, and until the Ministry and Company are pleased to decline my services.

I am extremely obliged by the assurances of your steady friendship, and whether important or unimportant in the sense of conferring benefits, I prize it and shall be happy to cultivate it on all occasions being with perfect esteem and just sentiments of past obligations.

No. 447

CALCUTTA,

The 5th August 1775.

TO PHILIP AFFLICK, ESQ.

Dear Afflick,

Your anxious concern that I should unite with Hastings is no sooner answered than instantly I become involved in a new opposition. You will hear it too loudly proclaimed by the Public advices what distractions prevail in our Councils, but you must judge yourself whence they have originated and how far the pretext and the cause are the same. Professions of superlative disinterestedness and as superlative a devotion to the public good have been proved on many occasions sincere and just, but those who expect implicit faith to their words while they are not at the trouble to support them by their actions, are the dupes of their own wishes and a vain opinion of the credulity of the multitude. But luckily for Mr. Hastings the age is not so rude, nor

mankind such idiots as to decide without examination, and the discerning Minister will doubtless ask upon what necessity did you found your opposition—what particular interests of the nation and of the Company are to be promoted by your measures, point to the great object that has influenced you to persecute Mr. Hastings and to throw the whole administration of Bengal into confusion. Without you do this and vindicate your opposition by making the necessity of it clear and obvious in some great advantage to arise to the public: it is in vain for you to point to past defects; for, however free you may be of Mr. Hastings's mistakes you are free too of his merits. The latter you can never give to the Government—the former you may check.

It is some time since your Navy money has been discharged, and almost every debt with which the Company was burthened clears off in the current year. The mode of discharging a part of our military expense from our neighbour's purse, and a few other little advantages we take of his necessities such as obtaining an assignment of the revenue of Gazipore and lordship of Bulwan Sing's country in perpetuity, help not a little, and we shall (I make not the least doubt) be rolling in wealth. What an alteration from the year 1771, an army 4 months in arrears, an interest debt of 12 millions of rupees, army, restitution navy, etc., etc. debts 3 millions and all this besides the army arrears of 4 months about 2 millions 5 hundred thousand rupees. But enough, I only intended to ask you how you do and to request that I might be as high in your esteem as you will ever be in mine.

No. 448

CALCUTTA.

5th August, 1775.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister

I have already acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 13 July 1774 and by the *Colubrooke's* packet I received it in duplicate with originals of the 21 and 22 December and I found all the enclosures right. Mr. Price was a good deal affected by the return of his bill and produced letters from Mr. Potter which had been received at the time he drew the bill giving an account of bank stock to the full amount and satisfied me perfectly. He had a right to give that draft the receipt of which you have been disappointed through the chicane of his attorney. I suspect this because I know Price to be an honest merchant and of an established character, which he has preserved in the midst of misfortunes that would have overwhelmed men not blessed with his strength of mind and abilities. I am glad the bullion arrived safe and that the other sums to the amount of £ 24000 have been paid you by Leicester and Beaumont, at least so the latter advises. What you relate to me of our brother William surprises me a good deal, for by the

manner in which he wrote me I supposed the stock had been entirely at your disposal and not circumstanced in the manner you represent. He ought to have been more candid with me and written all the particulars. As he has not condescended to do this, and it does not appear by your letter with what propriety he would place the burden on my shoulders, I must beg of you to weigh his pretensions without prejudice and without a bias to relieve me at his expense and adjust with him as in your judgment shall appear just and equitable.

To pretend to give you at this distance positive instructions touching the management of the monies I have placed in your hands is impossible. Your discretion must influence you solely in the disposal, but while I remain in this country I conceive your supporting a large proprietary interest in the stock of the India Company to be essential. The Minister will naturally expect such an influence should be preserved and at his command when he may have occasion to call for its exertion. It ought, therefore, to be a prime consideration with you, and as the finances of the Company are every day mending in India, there can be no risk of the fall of their stock, unless by an operation in the alloy, purposely calculated to lower it, when it will be your business rather to buy in than sell out. Be not startled at any rumour you hear, unless the report of the day is authenticated by my advices. I have already directed that from the interest arising £400 is to be annually applied to your whole and sole use. It becomes, therefore, unnecessary to repeat this injunction. I mention it only that if it does not suffice with your own fortune to support you in the style of life you engage in, you are welcome to take as much more as may accommodate your expenses, for as to domestic economy, I apprehend your turn of mind renders you not over rigid, and any neglect in this particular, should it call for an enlargement of the fixed settlement assigned you, must be answered, nor shall I feel a moderate enlargement while I remain abroad, and I flatter myself it will never become necessary after my return, when my prospects and my fortune becomes bounded, but however that may be, you will always find me the same you have known me while separated from you, and will consequently command me with that unreserve, a long and mutual affection has a right to claim, as well as to expect from you.

The settlement of every matter by which we have been involved with Sir G. Colebrooke, let me recommend to your particular attention, for I confess I am anxious to know to what extent those engagements are likely to affect my fortune. Before I take my leave of this country, and as it appears to me precarious how long I may be permitted to remain, excuse my pressing it upon you with this seeming degree of solicitude. The necessity of my commencing life in England, within the limits of my finances, must be

both in prudence and regard to the general welfare of a rising family numerous as ours, is an object of my thought.

Experience which rectifies opinion and confirms the judgment has happily qualified you for a trust of such importance as your brother's fortune. You have seen the risk to which all private loans are exposed, and are guarded by caution against the influence of those hopes which might otherwise induce you to comply with such applications. In short, as my return to England approaches nearer and nearer, a security of the means of living easily becomes more and more an object of importance to you and to me. Our lot is equal and to your care it is confided to make the most of.

The state of our Council remains the same as described in my former letters, and if any alteration is to be brought about by the influence of money, in that case no risk of private loans should be regarded. Nor must you regard the expence of some thousands to secure ultimately any great object to your brother. How far it may be practicable to give success to Mr. Hastings I know not. I flatter myself, however, that his interest will bear him through and baffle the insidious practices of General Clavering and his Junto, to remove him from the Government. The means they have taken are certainly base and infamous. They oppress all who are in any way connected with him, and the most vile among the natives who will only lay a charge or complaint against him, they reward with whatever they claim for a compensation, whether it be lands, high offices or honours. They threaten every man in station under the Government with their displeasure and supposing that they have it in their power to accuse the Governor of some venal trespass or speculations, they are so barefaced as to propose the accusing of him by them, as the only condition for continuing them in their employments. Amongst the multiplicity of instances of this nature, I will enamerate a few—1st. The Rannee of Bindwan a vile prostitute and a dishonour to one of the first families of Bengal, who unsuccessfully attempted to bribe the Governor and some members of the late Council with a donation of 4 lacs of rupees to possess that degree of independency and power which the new Government has thought proper to confer on her. Her only merit consists in attempting to vilify the Governor and Mr. Graham, and the only demerit of Brijoo Kissors Roy the guardian to the young Rajah and Dewan to the Household, his declining the infamy of an informer from disinclination, or the want of ability to assume that character, who has been in consequence removed—2d. The removal of Cawn Jehan Cawn Phowsdar of Hughly, who either would not or could not authenticate the improbable relation given by Zein-ul-abdeen Cawn to the Board of his holding the station of Phowsdar upon condition of paying to the Governor the major part of the salary annexed to his office. The pretext for this man's removal was contempt, though unsupport-

ed by any proof of the contempt alleged.—3rd. The honours and distinctions paid to Raja Nund Comar upon the merit of his accusing the Governor, and as Zein-ul-ub-deen Cawn beforenamed was his instrument in the former accusation, at his recommendation Mirza Mindee was appointed Phowadar of Hughly with a stipend of 3000 Rs. per mensem. Mirza Mindee previous to this was a dependant of Raja Nund Comar's and content with the humble salary of (20) twenty rupees per month which the Raja allowed him for his sustenance. This was in fact making Nund Comar Phowadar of Hughly while it was ostensibly in the name of Mirza Mindee.—4th. The deposition of the Nabob Jaffer Ally Cawn's Begum from the guardianship of the young Nabob and superior of the household, because she would not or could not verify the accusation of Nund Comar touching certain sums of money said to have been paid to the Governor and others by her order.—5th. The advancement of Raja Gourdas [Gurudas] the son of Nund Comar to the office held by Jaffer Ally Cawn's Begum and the giving him the charge of her person, with the removal of the son-in-law of Raja Nund Comar (Juggut Chond) because he declined to forward or abet the measures of his father-in-law, and in consequence was upon ill terms with him. Juggut Chond was Paisbar or Superintendent of the accounts of the Nabob's Household under the Begum.—6th. The oppression of Cummaul Oodeen Cawn for adventuring to lay before the public the conduct of Mr. Fowke and Nund Comar by whom he had been involved and grossly imposed upon. This man is a salt contractor and a farmer of the District of Hidglee. The farm of the District of Hidglee he relet upon certain conditions to another, and the man to whom he relet it, paid the rents to Government and consequently must be understood to have been accepted as the renter. The Calcutta Council called upon this man as such, treated him as such, and used severities to induce him to admit the balances they stated against the district the rents of which he collected agreeably to their ideas of what those balances were. Yet after Cummaul Oodeen became obnoxious to General Clavering and his Junto, and it was wellknown he had no charge of the collections of Hidglee and no power or authority to gather in the rents, the real renter is suddenly regarded as his agent only, and from demanding the rents of him, recourse is immediately had to Cummaul Oodeen, who being unable and without the means of answering such a call, is thrown into the Dewanny prison, while the man who collects the rents and from whom Government received the rents, and who had been called upon by Government to settle the balances due, is styled Cummaul Oodeen Cawn's agent and free from any demand of Government being accountable solely to Cummaul Oodeen with whom it rested to bring the man to account. Can any transaction have a blacker color, be more oppressive, or more vexatious? Cummaul Oodeen Cawn is a

man of little or no property, the real renter is a man of substance and his security is likewise a man of property. Under these circumstances it must be evident to meanest capacity that in order to effect Cummaul Oodeen Cawn's ruin and gratify a particular resentment, the Company's claims whatever that is on the responsible persons are yielded up merely to imprison this poor devil. A Supreme Court of Judicature is, however, fortunately established for his relief and holds out her protection against such terrible abuses of despotic power: there he will naturally find an asylum and security against the vindictive rage of a faction.—7th. The ejection of Dalleel Roy from the farm of Rajshaye, who had with a punctuality seldom found among the native renters paid his revenue to Government. But this man would not or could not accuse the Governor—and Ramkissen either truly or falsely charging the Governor under the name of Cantoo Baboo, and others under the names of their different banians, obtained not only the removal of Dalleel Roy, but a compensation of the zemindary in prejudice of the Company's rights to the eventual succession, or in prejudice to the rights of the surviving branches of the Rajshaya Raja's family, if any such existing. For more particulars on this subject revert to my letter of the 17th last May.—8th. The dismissal of Ganga Govind Singh from his office because he would not or could not give a testimony conformable to the wishes of the opposition and various others of less note that have suffered as well as have been promoted.

These instances will, however, suffice to evince to the world that a species of subornation of the most extensive influence is pursued, and that it will be wonderful indeed if in the end such means do not produce accusations true or false to blacken the Governor's character. Be that as it may, the means may possibly defeat the end, and render the public the friend of a man so villainously pursued and so basely persecuted for even admitting the Governor to have benefitted by presents. This mode of putting people upon rack to accuse him and paying others with lands, high offices and honours, for doing so, is a tyranny that must blend falsehood with truth and make equivocal any testimony thus obtained.

I enclose you a copy of what I have written to Lord North, Mr. Affick, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Savage, Mr. Wood to Col. Monson and Mr. Sullivan. For it is too much trouble to recapitulate the substance in other words which must have been done, had I attempted to introduce the subject of these addresses in my letter to you.

As I shall refer my friend Stuart to you for information, you will communicate to him without reserve; I have the firmest reliance on his friendship, and a confidence in him so entire as can only be vindicated by my high sense of his honour and attachment. In deference to his judgment I have acted and shall continue my support of Mr. Hastings undiscouraged by the

disagreeableness of my situation and unshaken by the advances of General Clavering, etc. The whole scene I have had with the General is in all its parts well adapted for the *Volpone* of Ben Johnson. Whatever could have operated on a man's wishes or his fears, has alternately been held out to me—his daughter at one time plays with my affections, if not with her own—I deal plainly with her, expose my situation and intimate my expectations from her—matters are brought to a point. The father then interferes—begins suddenly to doubt my public conduct—and withdraws his daughter—but it is without effect—and having proved me not to be the dupe of passion, he begins to bluster, he threatens me with the terrors of the law, he brings forward a false charge touching the benefits I derived from salt while at Dacca. I do not deny the profits I made—I avow them—I always avowed them. They were neither secret nor clandestine—but I object to the conclusions drawn and refute them. Finding me superior to this, he descends to scurrility, calls names or uses language to the same import. I return the supposed insult—he does not avow the words or any intent to insult—it is gone too far. I cannot retract without a wrong idea possibly being impressed of my motive—I meet him in this opinion I am providentially preserved. I then enter into an explanation, because my motive cannot be misconstrued—I declare I applied the affront I gave to such particular language, that I meant to give the affront to whoever presumed to hold such language to me, that I must have been mistaken, as the General did not avow the words at which I took offence, and as he declared he did not intend me an affront I could not do less than apologize for that I had given under the persuasion that I had first received one from the General. Here we ended and from that hour to this, we have been extremely polite to each other, at times familiar on his part and encouraging to resume my visits to his house. But hitherto I have declined the least advance to this connection I once thought of and have no idea of taking it up again. The young lady I sometimes meet in public assemblies, and though I confess a pleasure in perceiving the same conduct and the same attention on her part that I ever received, yet there is something more due in my opinion. My views have been opened to her and referred by her to her father. In my circumstances, therefore, they can never be revived unless he comes forward. This his pride I imagine effectually prevents, especially as he would wish first to be ascertained how I am disposed, which I shall never give him an opportunity of knowing, as I am perfectly indifferent to a change of condition, whatever attachment I might have had and still may have for his daughter. "Keep your own state no other lot prefer" is the sentiment of a philosopher who perfectly understood human nature, and, I am convinced, comprises in it the limited happiness of man. Self, you probably will not think, has been unnecessarily the subject of a few of these pages, but lest I

grow tiresome I must drop it, recommending you by all means to place my conduct in a fair and just light touching the profits I derived from the Dacca salt, and the securing to me those profits, for though I took but a part of their distributing shares amongst others, yet the part I took I wish to keep and more particularly as it will fully vindicate me in having taken it. My public minutes and letters to Sullivan will furnish you with many arguments and your ingenuity may suggest others more forcible and conclusive.

My friend, William Barton, who was lately Resident at Luckipore and is now a Member of the Board of Commerce, is pursued by Triumvirate for his connection with me. The General has insinuated on the records of the Superior Council that he bartered salt for the cloths he provided for the Company to the amount of 10 lacs of rupees. Barton has had no opportunity to reply to this, as the General has not been generous enough to send an extract of the record to him. The insinuation was urged so boldly that I was startled and only said that I believed he must be mistaken, that it was the first time I had an idea of such a transaction, and if there had been any such, I should scarcely have been ignorant of it. The General replied he knew very well. I was astonished and confounded. Barton, I knew, was a great salt merchant; he might have been misled in pursuit of gain, and though I could not reconcile my total ignorance with the existence of such a transaction, I was silent. A few days after, I visited Barton purposely to ask him if he had been engaged in such business and had bartered his salt for cloth, when to my great satisfaction he gave me the most solemn assurances that he never had, and that it was a most abominable falsehood in whoever had been base enough to traduce him. I replied some of his good friends had belied him to the General, or it was an invention of the General's to give me uneasiness, that it was too near the dispatch of the ship for the Supreme Council to take it up; but as soon as the hurry was over I would move it and take care he should have a full opportunity to contradict the falsehood. In short whoever are my friends, the Bartons particularly, you must guard for my sake and leave no stone unturned to preserve them in the good opinion of the Directors etc., or at least to preserve them in the Service, for William Barton's circumstances, who General Clavering would make the world believe has raised a large fortune by indirect means, such as bartering salt for the Company's investment and holding profitable farms, are in a bad condition, and unless the Government countenance and assist him in recovering the sums due to him from the salt manufactures, I can assure you he will not find a sufficient fund to pay all his creditors. In this situation I have advised him to lay his books of accounts before his creditors that they may be satisfied how he is circumstanced, and that though he will be worth a small competency if he is assisted by Government in getting in his debts, if he is

not assisted but persecuted and oppressed, that he will have nothing to himself and scarce enough to pay them. Disagreeable and painful as this step must prove to him, yet he is necessitated to take it, equally to wipe off the calumny of any misrepresentations as to evince the honesty and fairness of his dealings to those who have claims upon him.

I send enclosed a scheme of Mr. Keir's for the regulation of the Salt revenue. The Supreme Council have transmitted it to the Directors with a short recommendation. There is certainly merit in the plan, though it may not be perfect, and if you can assist Mr. Keir in obtaining the conduct of it, I request you will put the papers into the hands of any of the intelligent Directors of your acquaintance.

Capt. William Cook whom you recommend at the instance of Mr. Jackson, I will serve to the utmost of my power. I mentioned my obligation to do so to the Governor and the office of Barrack Master vacated by Captain Parker's promotion, and the Governor assured me he would join his endeavours to mine to place Captain Cook in the Barrack Mastership. Of this I have given Capt. Cook information, but whether we shall be able to insure success to his views is with me a doubt, the state of the Council being such as to put it almost out of the Governor's and my power to assist the meanest Writer. I, therefore, advised Capt. Cook to solicit and secure, if possible, one of the new gentlemen to his interest.

Mr. Matthew Tudor mentioned at the instance of Lady Pawlet shall have the strongest recommendations from Mr. Hastings and myself to the Governor and all the Members of the Council at Fort St. George, and I flatter myself with some advantage to his interest and future views while in the Company's service at that Presidency.

Mr. Tilman Henkell is at present fixed at Dacca as assistant under Mr. Grueber. The situation is good and would be better if his superior possessed those amiable qualities and that generosity of mind for the reverse of which he is remarkable. Any assistance I can give to Mr. Henkell you may depend upon.

No. 449.

CALCUTTA,

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQ., ARGYLE STREET. *The 5th August 1775.*
Dear Beaumont,

I have received your letter of the 21 December 1774 and am concerned at the losses you have sustained by Bolts and Gamon and likewise for my not having answered your expectations in remittance of your fortune. Whatever part has been kept in this country through any omission of mine by my not

taking the opportunity offered in 1770 in the 3 years' Company's bills I must in equity make up to you, nor have I the least objection to do so. I will look back into my accounts and ascertain what I think you may with propriety expect and I acquiesce to. I am a very reasonable fellow on these occasions and never that I remember treated my friends with playing what some gentlemen style the best of the game, and agreeably to equity I will state to the debit of your account the amounts I omitted to pay in 1770 for bills, as if I had paid it in at that period and leave you to charge to me what those bills would have produced and to pay yourself from the monies you have of mine in your hands, their amount including the running interest on the bills had such bills been transmitted by me. Thus, my Friend, the remittance omitted in 1770 or the continuance of that omitted remittance in India is left to your option. But I suppose you will prefer the former as it is undoubtedly most beneficial to you. But the money I have received on your account since November 1770 (the omitted period for receiving money for that year's drafts granted on the Company) you must find some means or another of drawing, for upon my honour I know not when I shall have it in my power to gain you a safe remittance, except on very disadvantageous terms, and you know my distresses on the disappointment of Middleton and Ellis's bills to have been such that under apprehension a sufficient sum would not have been thrown into my sister's hands, I sent a lac of rupees in bullion by which I suffered 28 per cent. difference between the exchange of those bills and what the bullion turned out. You shall lose nothing, Beaumont, by my omission in the remittance of 1770; you ought not and I am satisfied you should not, and yet I shall be badly off in the partial payments of Chevalier's, Middleton's and Ellis's bills which I hope to receive by my brother if they have not been fully discharged, or unquestionable security given for their discharge before he sailed. French promises like the will of wisp have no solidity. Ellis's fortune is a good one, and if not entirely at the mercy of the French will go some way to discharge their failures in payment. Otherwise this country alone must give the returns to the bill holders, for I do not believe Middleton has any thing of consequence in England unless both he and Ellis have received proportionately with their bill holders, *viz.* 75 per cent. on the principal of the French drafts of 1772 and 50 per cent. on the principal Chevalier's drafts of 1771. And if they have received this, they act a dishonest part in not directing their attorneys to pay it away to the bill holders as far as it will go. Should you not have sent out the bills protested, it will answer no purpose to send them out next year as Middleton's ill health renders his existence extremely precarious and Ellis is now with you. I am very anxious, Beaumont, about these bills of Chevalier Middleton and Ellis, and as my sister wrote me over land the 13 July 1774,

which letter I received last February, that she had requested my instructions might be implicitly followed. I hope I shall have the bills returned protested for the sums remaining due upon them, or that I shall have advice of their being fully paid. I can now recover them, but should any accident happen to poor Middleton by the next year, the recovery of the money will be impracticable I fear. Thus you see the dilemma to which we shall be reduced if the bills are neither fully paid nor returned to be recovered upon. You must excuse me not giving you an account of the transactions of Bengal, though I wish much to do it, both on account of the interest you would take in the relation and the part I bear in the scene; however, if you have a curiosity you may see at my sister's what I have not time to recapitulate in my letter to you.

No. 450.

CALCUTTA,

TO THE HON'BLE FREDERICK STUART.

The 5th August 1775.

Dear Stuart,

As it is not pleasant to recapitulate facts even of an agreeable nature, much less do I find myself inclined to repeat a relation of disagreeable incidents, do, therefore, my Friend, call upon my sister, and she will give you every particular that touches the interest or welfare of those you esteem in this country. Elliott likewise who goes home upon this ship, can furnish you with information and give you a view of the distracted state of our Government more comprehensive than I could do, was I disposed to write 20. or 30 sheets on so copious a subject. Agreeably to your wishes and the sentiments you expressed upon your departure. Mr. Hastings has received from me the most full and unreserved support, but a majority decided and determined renders that of very little service to him, and as to any weight I may give his cause in England that appears to me extremely doubtful. However the dye is cast and I must abide the throw whatever it may turn up.

From the letters I have received I find the Ministry and Direction wait in suspense for advices from Bengal upon the assembly of the new Government; you carried home those advices and have seen the impression they made and, of course, have formed your judgment of the result which when you favour me with the communication of, will determine my continuance in or departure from this country. I am extremely solicitous to hear from you to take my resolution, and fairly wearied out with contention and shocked at the base artifices adopted by the opposition, I can scarce bear my situation with temper. A species of subornation to multiply accusations true or false against Mr. Hastings is pursued; the various promotions to and

removals from offices in the gift of Government prove this in numberless instances, and so little care has been taken to gloss over these acts with plausible pretexts that, I hope and flatter myself, nothing more will be necessary to defeat the end than an exposition of the very means which have been pursued to effect it. Yet it is possible the temper of the nation strongly tinged with prejudice against the Indians may lightly pass over the vile methods that have been taken to asperse Mr. Hastings and allow a degree of credit to the informations that have been obtained; his neither admitting nor denying the charges upon the principle of not submitting his conduct to be arraigned by the Board will probably render his innocence equivocal. And if it is a crime for him to have benefitted his private fortune in the course of his Government by donations, I do not believe a single person is entirely free from such pollution, or blessed with that rigid virtue as to have been superior upon all occasions to the receipt of presents. For myself I pretend not to superior merit by my forbearance, it can scarcely be called so. Circumstanced as I have been the same allurements presented not themselves to me, and yet I do not pretend, Stuart, to say I never received a present, but I am certain, I can defy any person to charge such to me as a crime. I may indeed congratulate myself upon it, for in the present spirit of the times, I could not have hoped to escape the rage of party which for want of other matter, has attempted to pervert a simple fact and fix a stigma upon me for the benefits I reaped from the salt contracts while at Dacca and the measures I took for restoring the cloth manufacture and increasing the Company's investment. The first I think I have fully explained and fully refuted. The latter appears upon the face of it an ill-grounded and vexatious calumny, for I made no cloth for myself and did not purchase a single piece either upon commission for others or to sell again for myself. Consequently no private views influenced my regulations in the provision of the public investment regulations that in every line shew nothing but solicitude for the interests of the Company, and which after every attempt made by Mr. Grueber the present commercial Chief of Dacca to subvert, stand confirmed, established and approved by the Commercial Board of Calcutta.

Poor Playdell as the oldest house-keeper in Calcutta having presented the Free Merchants' address to the Judges, upon the first meeting of the Council after the transaction, was deprived of his office and Mr. Mackrabie Francis's brother-in-law appointed to his place by the same influence that ejected Playdell. The pretext for Playdell's removal was that he had been 10 years ago dismissed by the Company for accepting presents, that the time limited for his residence in India was expired, and that he should be directed to prepare himself to return to Europe. Unluckily for Clavering

who made these observations, Playdell's covenants run for two years beyond the present, and the Company's permission to Playdell to return to Bengal is a full reply to the captious objection touching his former dismissal being a bar to his holding any office under the Government now. But what will not faction urge to gloss over a step of this nature. In Europe it is to carry the appearance of a measure not influenced by prejudice. In India it is to impress the community a full conviction of immediate punishment following any offence given by an individual to the majority. The majority happen unfortunately not to find the Judges in a disposition to adopt their resentments against Mr. Hastings. This is the ground of their ill-humour, and this it is that makes them feel the indignation they express at the addresses presented to Sir Elijah Impey by the different classes of the inhabitants (Company's servants excepted who dare not address) expressive of their sense of the protection afforded them by an impartial administration of the laws, and a reliance on his temper and equanimity in moderating them as far as may be to the general advantage of the Settlement.

No. 457.

CALCUTTA,

TO HENRY SAVAGE, ESQ.

The 3th August 1775.

Dear Sir,

I confess myself to be much disappointed by not having a single line from your pen by the *Coltbrooke*, the first and the last ship of a season I generally look to for my friends' letters. I flatter myself, however, indisposition has not been the cause of your declining to indulge me as heretofore with your correspondence, but that a full occupation of your time in the business of the Direction and other matters to which you have given your attention is the only cause of my not having received that pleasure. In this persuasion, the same sentiment that led me to cultivate your friendly opinion prevails, and I continue the freedom of my communications in the idea that they will still have your favourable construction and myself your indulgence and support.

The Directors and the public who understand are impatient for advices from the new established Government to take their measures for the interests confided to that Government, have before this period apprized of its commencement, and the spirit with which it has set out in the arduous task. This spirit, I am sorry to say, instead of remitting, appears to gather strength every day, and our distractions to increase. The art of governing and enacting salutary regulations for the future prosperity of the country my associates comprize in the following words—"turn out the Governor," and

while they ought to be looking forward, they are looking back, fixing the sole merit they can pretend to advance to public favour upon the abuse and charges they can accumulate upon Mr. Hastings's head. That Mr. Hastings is a perfect character I do not contend. I always thought that he had his faults in common with other characters, but I likewise thought he had capacity and ability of that superior nature which might be rendered very beneficial to the interests of the public. The knowledge of this, and the strong recommendations of those to whose better judgments I shall always subscribe, made me without hesitation look over past scenes and determine to support his new Government with the same candour and unreserve I opposed him in many measures of his late Administration, fully sensible that neglecting present interests to point out mistakes and imperfections that were past, could only serve private and particular purposes, by leading the Company into a false opinion of the Administration being busied in great and important pursuits which when summed up and examined with an unprejudiced eye, would be found to have no future object than that one man might step into the place of another, a matter of very little moment to the public which is no way concerned in a contest for power between individuals; but in the solid and permanent advantages to be derived to itself. It is but a weak plea for opposition to urge, we are free from Mr. Hastings's mistakes and infirmities, for the public will probably add, you are free too of his merits and abilities. These you cannot possibly give to the Government, the others you may correct and check. Why then shall we deprive the Company of the useful. No—let them reap the advantage of his talents and knowledge in full confidence that you will take care they be no otherways employed than to the benefit of the Government. The age is not so unenlightened, nor men such idiots as to judge without examining. There is something more than pompous professions of zeal and integrity required to fix and confirm the judgment. Actions alone are the touchstone and must prove them not equivocal before any credit is given to their sincerity. Give, therefore, instances of their reality, point out the benefits of your labours in the trust confided to you. The negative merit of seeing former mistakes is by no means conclusive to the opinion you are to establish of your own deserts, nor are the defects of others any proofs of your abler administration.

My support of Mr. Hastings in his new Government you will find upon the records has drawn upon me no small share of the resentment of the opposition, and I cannot but smile at the disappointment they experience when after ransacking the whole country for anything to impeach my conduct, the gentlemen are at last obliged to content themselves with charging to me as my only offence the atrocious crime of having engaged in some salt contracts at Dacca under the names of natives. Though there is nothing in this transaction that ought to bring an imputation on my name, every species

of address and misrepresentation has been used to make it equivocal and ambiguous, but I flatter myself I have set it in a very clear light to the public and fully obviated any impression proposed to be given of my being engaged in any sinister practices to benefit my own private fortune at the expense of the Company. Allow me so much of your patience as to give you a faithful epitome of this matter.

When I went up to Dacca in August 1773, I first understood that the gentlemen of the Factory (when the Committee in 1772 made publication for leasing the salt manufacture) had made proposals in the names of natives, that those proving the lowest had been accepted and the contracts became the property of the Factory—that the then Chief had pitched upon agents for conducting the salt works and to secure a faithful discharge of their agency had made it a condition with them that they should stand in the public leases as securities for performance of the articles of the engagement on their part, the Chief then regulated a mode by which his advantages were to arise, which I afterwards rejected as exceptionable and new modelled so as to secure the Company all they could possibly have a right to expect—*vide* my Public Minutes and observations on the subject in the progress of its investigation and the close of that investigation.

I have already observed, I went up to Dacca in August 1773 and took charge the 1st of September. The salt contracts were leased in 1772, but I forget the particular month. When I came into the Chiefship three alternatives touching this business were presented to me. Either to give up to the managing agents all the profits to be derived from the salt contracts in which they had no property. Either to make it a matter of public accusation against my predecessor and the gentlemen who had an interest in these contracts for covering such interest under the names of natives. Or thirdly and lastly to succeed peaceably to the rights descended to me upon filling the station to which these contracts appertained. I chose the latter. How far I might be wrong, I submit to every man of reason and candour. Should it be thought that the engagements were improper in the first instance, be it remembered that in that stage I had nothing to do with them. I came to them a long time after they had been irrevocably fixed, when they admitted no alteration or amendment. Any imputation of course if any such be admitted touching their first formation will not extend to me, and as to the insinuation of their being formed with the most distant view to my particular advantage, it is one of those absurd and ridiculous allegations which flow from invective and ill-humour. Who in this country could possibly have had a remote idea when these contracts were concluded by the Committee in 1772 that I should have been appointed by the Court of Directors in 1773 to the Dacca Chiefship. However, to erase any impression of private interest having actuated my conduct in the concern I afterwards had in the Dacca

salt contracts, I set out with a public declaration to the gentlemen of the opposition, that if they would make out in any manner the Company's rights to the profits I had made, I would account to the Company for the last farthing, but if they proceeded to make it a contest between me and my agents who had been publicly dismissed for illicit practices, they must excuse my respecting their sentiments, that I had instituted suits at Law against these agents for the balances of their under-contracts to me, and that I would compell them to answer those balances, because as the Government they had no right to intermeddle, for thus circumstanced the litigation would become entirely of a private nature and the decision of the Supreme Court of Judicature alone be ultimate and binding on the parties, that I had already cautioned the Board, the appeal of Coja Kewurk from the Judicature to the Council was merely to evade the Laws and baffle, if possible, my prosecution intimating thereby that the interposition of the Board would be injurious and unfair, unless the gentlemen of the opposition who influenced it, really and seriously proposed the investigation for the benefit of the Company and not to injure me, and to reward a worthless fellow, who would be found to have no other title to their favour than the merit of having falsified facts to accuse me. Such an instance too, I said, might have effect and be a powerful spur to some villain to step forth in expectation of finding the same countenance, but such arts were as far below my apprehensions as my character would rise superior by their test. As to Coja Kewurk, his real deserts appeared upon the face of his own story and confirmed all and more than was upon record in the Proceedings of the Dacca Council that dismissed and declared him an improper person ever again to be employed on account of the machinations in which he had been detected. All this and more was urged in the course of debate and all urged in vain. The Governor-General alone allowing the least weight to the arguments.

Believe me, I shall advance no pretensions nor do I wish my friends to advance any in my behalf that they do not think fully warranted upon every principle of justice and of equity. I wish it is true to preserve the profits I have made and not find myself clearly justified. And in the persuasion that I have not erred I beg as a very particular favor your countenance and active support.

No. 452.

CALCUTTA.

TO JOHN GRAHAM, ESQ.

The 9th August 1775.

Dear Graham,

Lately as you have left Bengal the scenes that have arisen since your departure, will, I am certain, surpass any idea you could have formed of

thus, in the periods of the most violent opposition some degree of decency and decorum had a place, but now every consideration appears to be laid aside and indignity upon indignity is heaped on the head of the Governor, and a species of subornation of the most extensive kind is impudently adopted under the flimsy veil of detecting peculation. Honours, offices, lands and pecuniary gratifications in the gift of Government are publicly held out to the vilest of the Natives to bring charges against the Governor and the Members of the old Administration, while to those who are in office dismissal from their employ is threatened unless (whether they have it in their power or not) they frame accusations for the purpose of General Clavering and his Jonto, but you will hear enough of this from Mr. Elliot who goes for England by this conveyance and is entirely master of the subject. Those friends who required information, I have written to, and it is superfluous to enter on a repetition to you, as you will so much more fully obtain a knowledge of every particular incident from Elliot.

Poor old Nund Comar is at last fallen by his own villainies: he was brought to trial on the charge of a forgery to defraud the estate of Bolakydas. After an examination of many days in the course of which every evidence he produced was detected of perjury, the Jury brought him in guilty, and on the 5th of the present month at half-past-nine in the morning, he suffered by the hands of the hangman. He conducted himself with decency and at the place of execution acknowledged the justness of the sentence by which he suffered.

The various arts that have been used to support and screen this man, would take up a volume in the detail and will reflect not a little on the General and Col. Monson who both particularly busied themselves in his cause, disputed with the Judges on his account and advanced a plea of right in the Government to step forth on all occasions for the protection of the natives when oppressed by the proceedings of the Judicature. Various are the minutes and letters on this subject, but such pretensions and such an improper interference to take Nund Comar out of the hands of justice struck the Governor and myself so forcibly that we refused to set our names to any letters broaching these wild doctrines.

The Treasuries have this instant ninety odd lacs laying in them, while we because General Clavering would appear to save the Company 3 per cent. by reducing the interest from 8 to 5, are continuing a debt that we have no occasion for, as it is not above 86 lacs principal. Thus we took up a million from circulation which must equally lessen the commerce and agriculture of the Provinces, and for this pernicious hoarding of the Public Treasure that would otherwise find its way and influence in the country, the Company are made to pay 3 per cent. Upon my soul it is a shame such ignorance

and such pitiful shifts to get a name should remain unexposed and undetected and not blast the authors with the folly that led them to the imposition. I hope the Company will make them pay the interest on this unnecessary loan they keep up.

No. 433.

CALCUTTA,

The 9th August 1775.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

After closing my letters I recollect two subjects that I have omitted to take notice of—the reduction of the interest of the bonded debt, and a contract entered into with Mr. Witton a gentleman in Col. Monson's family for the provision of the base opium produced in the districts of Rungpore, Dinajpur and Purnea, at so high a rate that I really think the Company will get little or nothing by it, while the contractor himself if he attends to the business will gain about twenty thousand pounds in the course of the year. I opposed the acceptance of any of the proposals made for the provision of this base opium and recommended if it was necessary the Company should engross this base opium as well as the Patna opium, that it might be purchased by agents—that when I dealt in Purnea and Rungpore opium I used to buy it at about Rs. 120 per chest, that it never sold for within Rs. 150 of the price that Patna opium sold for, that the proposals for the Patna opium which sold best and cost most in the provision was offered to be contracted for Rs. 190 the chest, and Mr. Witton's proposals for the base opium of Purnea etc., were at Rs. 240 the chest. The Board, therefore, ought not to close with Mr. Witton's proposals, but secure the produce by employing agents to buy it up, for at the rate Mr. Witton offered to provide it would yield but little if any profit to the Company. The Governor joined with me in the propriety of these remarks and sentiments. Little attention was, however, paid to our knowledge or experience. General Clavering, etc., chose to serve their dependant Mr. Witton, and with all their professions of zeal and integrity for the public cause scrupled not to sacrifice the obvious interests of the Company, and put into this gentleman's pocket at least £20,000 which might have been saved to the Company, for the quantity of Purnea, etc., opium will be about 2,000 chests upon every chest of which the contractor Mr. Witton will get at the least 100 Rs. which is 2 lacs of rupees.

When the proposal was made by General Clavering for reducing the interest of the bond debt from 8 to 5 per cent. I informed you the Governor-

General had proposed the liquidation of the debt by paying it off entirely and throwing the money into circulation instead of keeping it locked up in the Treasury, when the Company had no occasion to continue such a loan. The reasons he assigned were solid and incontrovertible, that money not absolutely wanted for the exigencies of Government should be thrown into circulation, because in proportion to the specie kept out of circulation in the Provinces, their manufactures, commerce and agriculture would be affected. The truth of this will be evident by the influence you will find it to have on the revenue of the current year which with other causes operating, the want of confidence in the rulers will make it fall more short than it hitherto has done. The balances in the different treasuries which is the specie locked up and kept out of circulation is about 96 lacs or one million sterling at least, and the interest debt continued at 5 per cent. is principal about 86 lacs so that this mighty operation of General Clavering's is in simple truth nothing more than burthening the Company with a charge of interest of 5 per cent. instead of saving to them 3 per cent. which he would impose upon the world he has done. To keep such a sum out of circulation locked up in the Company's Treasury, what an able financier? But I hope the Company will oblige him to pay Rs. 4,30,000 interest with which they are thus annually charged for a loan as wantonly as it is unnecessarily continued, for neither General Clavering nor any of his friends can now urge that it is longer dubious whether the Governor-General could have paid off the Company's bond debt, the actual balance of 96 lacs in specie in the different Treasuries fully and absolutely evince the contrary.

I beg you will make these as public as it is possible, and if any doubt is entertained refer to the public records of the Company by this conveyance which will amply testify the authenticity of these two facts.

Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Elliot to whom I have committed this letter open lest the matters it relates might have escaped him.

No. 454.

CALCUTTA,

TO ALEXANDER K.

The 9th August 1775.

Dear Sir,

Allow me to trouble you with the enclosed. The two facts related in it did not strike me when I wrote my letters. I dare say you will think them of a nature to be made as public as possible. The taking such an immense sum as 96 lacs out of circulation to lock up in the Treasury can not but

materially affect the current revenue and the paying £30,000 for money to lock speaks no less a degree of folly than the depriving the Provinces of its current specie. To say that it remains in the Provinces is ridiculous; it may as well be in Europe, China or Bombay if the Provinces do not continue to benefit from it. May you arrive safe in England and your most sanguine expectations be answered is the very hearty wish of.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF RAM CHUNDER SEN. *Vide* letter No. 442.

Kishen Sen, father of Ram Chunder Sen, was employed in the Aumeen Office of the Maharaja Kishen Chand wherein when he had been guilty of some malversation, the Maharaja imprisoned Gopal Sen elder brother of Ram Chunder and forbid them all his presence. At length after some period of time the Nabob Meer Mahammad Cossim Khawn took the Maharaja to Mouglhyt. Then it was that Ram Chunder Sen ungratefully forgetting his long dependance upon the Maharaja escaped from Kishenagur and came to the Nabob, and out of a principle of enmity procured the collections of Kishenagur upon a bundabust of 17 or 18 lacs of rupees, whither he returned and was guilty of many oppressions upon the children and officers of the Maharaja, such indeed as were hardly even equalled in the world. Afterwards when Meer Mahammad Cossim Ally Khawn fled from the victorious arms of the English, Ram Chunder Sen also fled after having wasted and appropriated considerable sums belonging to Government as upon investigation may yet be proved. Some time after this Ram Chunder Sen obtained the Collectorship of Kishenagur under the deceased Nabob Meer Mahammad Jaffer Khawn on a bundabust of 12 or 13 lacs of rupees (by the recommendation of Maharaja Nund Comar who was at that time Muttasuddee in the Khalsah Cutcherry). Upon his second arrival at Kishenagur he grievously oppressed the family of the Maharaja and the ryots were continually deserting on account of his exactions. He there appropriated or wasted a large sum of money and paid into Government a very inconsiderable part of his revenue, so that the Maharaja Nund Comar removed him from his post and imprisoned him in Moorshidabad under a sepoy guard. Upon the death of the Nabob, Ram Chunder Sen seizing a favorable opportunity made his escape from thence. And afterwards upon Mr. Becher's going to Moorshidabad Ram Chunder Sen by the recommendation of that gentleman's taniau was appointed to the collections of Dinagepur. There indeed he continued to pay the Government revenue, but his severe taxations so miserably rained the province that it has not recovered to this day as indeed upon inspection of the mofussil collections

a great sum was found to be due from him, and at length the affair was settled for the sum of 55,000 rupees for which Ram Chunder Sen acknowledged himself to be justly accountable. Of that sum he even paid some part into the Sircar and still remains debtor for the balance, as may be proved from inspection of the accounts of the Mazoolce Duftar (the office where the litigated accounts of persons deprived of their posts are registered). After this when the Committee was at Moorshidabad he took in farm the Purgunnahs of Lushkerpore, Syedpore, etc. At the end of the year having wasted a considerable sum of money and thrown a balance upon the Government, as per account beneath stated, he again absconded. And out of the whole balance which he had thus incurred 45,000 rupees were detained in the Khalsah from the salary of the Nabob Muzaffer Jung, the remaining balance being 70,000 rupees and upwards not yet paid.

This account may be ascertained from the Khalsah accounts, etc. Ram Chunder Sen from that year has continually been shifting his quarters for fear of punishment for his frauds and malpractices against Government.

Account of the Purgunnahs of Lushkerpore, Syedpore, etc., under Ram Chunder Sen in the Bengal year 1178, viz. :—

	Rs.	A.	P.	G.
Bundabust of the Purgunnah of Lushkerpore with Chandley the Talook of Phoolanant, etc. ...	3,13,905	3	8	0
	Rs.	A.	P.	G.
Paid by Ram Chunder Sen ...	2,67,052	13	14	3
Stopped from the Nabob's salary ...	*15,000	0	0	0
	2,82,352	13	14	3
Balance still due ...	31,552	5	13	1
Bundabust of Syedpore, etc. ...	2,05,904	8	12	2
	Rs.	A.	P.	G.
Paid by Ram Chunder Sen ...	1,33,031	5	10	0
Stopped from the Nabob's salary ...	*30,000	0	0	0
	1,63,031	5	10	0
Balance still due ...	42,873	2	2	0
Balance due from Ram Chunder Sen on account of the Purgunnahs Lushkerpore, Syedpore, etc.	74,425	8	15	3

N.B.—The two sums marked * make the 45,000 rupees mentioned in the foregoing narrative.

ACCOUNT OF MAHARAJA NUND COMAR—Vide letter No. 442.

It is utterly impossible for a man to commit to writing a full account of all the plots and machinations of the Maharaja Nund Comar, because a complete knowledge of every individual transaction is not to be obtained except from those by whose agency they were performed; but some of his principal actions which are most notorious may be brought to light. Yet even of these if it be desired to quote exactly every year and every month of each year in which they occurred, exclusive of the length of time which would be necessary for so minute an investigation, it would cost an able writer at least a month to arrange and finish the work. The present attempt is only meant as a summary account of the principal transactions of the Maharaja, some of which may be ascertained by enquiries from those who have been long conversant with the affairs of this kingdom, and others may be proved by a reference to the records of the Council. But at the same time these general hints may incline some of the people in power to investigate the particulars.

Nund Comar Roy is son to Pudlab Roy who always held some office under Government and was Aumil of two or three Purgunnahs such as Futeh Sing, Ghourib Gaur, and Sut Seeka the jumma of which might be about 1,50,000 rupees at the period, and he appointed his son Nund Comar Roy as kind of Naib under him. Sometime after this same time in the reign of the Nabob Ally Verdy Cawn more generally called Mehabat Jung, Nund Comar was appointed Aumil of the purgunnahs of Higley and Masadal where after a little while he was guilty of much malversation in his office and incurred a balance of 80,000 rupees having besides used excessive oppressions upon the zemindars and ryots. They laid their complaints before the Roy Royan, Cheyn Roy, who was extremely kind and merciful to the subjects, and who have the best character of any one Roy Royan. Cheyn Roy immediately displaced Nund Comar, and after the accounts were properly stated, confined him in chains for the payment of his balance and summoned him daily to the Khalsah cutcherry where he was constantly flogged and beaten. A considerable time passed away in this manner, and at last Pudlab Roy out of his paternal affection paid from his own cash the balance due to Government and released his son. But upon being made acquainted with his infamous practices he swore never to see Nund Comar's face and never forgave him during his life-time. Cheyn Roy also the Roy Royan gave orders that so notorious a villain should never be suffered to enter the Khalsah cutcherry. When Nund Comar found himself absolutely prohibited from the Khalsah cutcherry, he procured an introduction to Nabob Hossein Koolce Cawn Naib to the Nabob Mehabat Jung deceased upon which intelligence of this Cheyn Roy the Roy Royan sent a full account of all the

frauds and infamous practices of Nund Comar to the Naib who immediately drove him from his house, and during these transactions a considerable space of time elapsed. As soon as the seeds of internal enmity sprang up between the Nabob Mahabat Jung and his General Mustapha Cawn, and Nund Comar began to suspect it (as it is his nature to apply himself diligently to a party when any disturbance arises between great men), he immediately waited upon Mustapha Cawn. God only knows what passed between them at that conference. All that came to public knowledge is this that Mustapha Cawn took into his hands the Malguzarry of several Zemindars for some of whose lands Nund Comar became security. At last when a heavy balance was incurred upon those lands, and Nund Comar's practices came to be better understood, Mustapha Cawn determined to seize and send him prisoner to the Roy Royan. He by some means got intelligence of this and escaped so secretly to Calcutta that nobody could discover whither he had fled. But when the quarrel between the Nabob Mahabat Jung and Mustapha Cawn openly broke out, and Mustapha was slain, and the Roy Royan, Cheyn Roy, also was dead, Nund Comar again made his appearance at Moorshidabad, and by the recommendation of the Mutsaudees obtained the collection of the Purgunnah of Sutseeka. About that time he borrowed 2,000 rupees from Mir Hoobatulla an inhabitant of Hooghly. He was soon recalled from his post, and after having settled his account at Moorshidabad, he went to Hooghly in search of subsistence while Muhammad Yar Beg Cawn was Foujdar there. While he was there Mir Hoobatulla set Peiadaes Mohaill upon him for his debt of 2,000 rupees and confined him closely for 5 days, who during all that time neither drank nor eat nor performed any of the natural evacuations. At last by the assistance of Sheik Rustum the father of Comal-uddeen Cawn, he procured a certain person an inhabitant of Purtabpore to be his bail for a limited time of 15 days, and obtained his liberty, and having taken up at Chundernagar shawls to the value of 2,000 rupees he sold them for 1,200 rupees 1,000 rupees of which he gave the man who was his bail, and keeping 200 to himself, absconded from Hooghly for the remainder of the debt which was 1,000 rupees and went to Moorshidabad. After some time Muhammad Yar Beg Cawn was displaced from the Fowjdarry of Hooghly and Hidayet Ally Cawn put in his place. At that time Nund Comar had liberty of paying his respects to the Nabob Siraj-ud-Dowla, but was so poor that he would purchase upon credit horses or shawls or any such thing from the shopkeepers at the price of 2,000 rupees perhaps, and then sell them for ready money at 1,000 rupees, 500 rupees of which he would pay to the shopkeepers, and support himself upon the remainder, while the shopkeepers were constantly importuning him for the balance of their debt. It happened that the Nabob Siraj-ud-Dowla was sitting in a retired part of

his palace one day when Nund Comar went to pay his respects, and upon his whispering somewhat to the Nabob (but what he said nobody knows) the Nabob became exceedingly angry and ordered him to be most severely bastinadoed with a bamboo. As Nund Comar is of an excessively strong constitution, he escaped with life from that beating which it is certain would have killed any other person. Besides which Nund Comar by order of the Nabob was sent to Hedayet Ally Cawn at Hooghly. Hedayet Ally Cawn had heard that Nund Comar had been applying for the Dewanny at Hooghly, wherefore he used every kind of severity against him and used every method to disgrace him. Nund Comar sometime after with much difficulty made his escape from Hooghly, and went again to Moorshidabad, where he was reduced to the utmost poverty, and at last Muhammad Yar Beg Cawn was again appointed Fowjdar of Hooghly. At that time Nund Comar waited upon Munshi Sadukulla who was the intimate friend of Yar Beg and paid him constant attendance twice a day, till such time as Sadukulla took upon himself the patronage of Nund Comar, and introduced him again to Muhammad Yar Beg. After a stay of 5 months Muhammad Yar Beg left Hooghly and took with him Nund Comar with intention to procure, if possible, Lahowry Mull in whom he had great confidence, to be made his Dewan, and not Nund Comar whom he knew to be very poor and whom he brought to Hooghly; but upon Lahowry Mull's being made Dewan at Hooghly, Nund Comar was reduced to the last distress and went again to Moorshidabad. After some time Lahowry Mull by a piece of ingratitude procured the Hooghly customs to be separated from the Fowjdar, who therefore, cast about to choose another Dewan, and as Munshi Sadukulla was a most firm patron to Nund Comar, he strongly recommended him and procured the appointment for him. Nund Comar remained 3 years at Hooghly shewing the utmost respect to Sadukulla, and from that period constantly bore the approbation of Dewan. Luckily for him Muhammad Yar Beg Cawn was a man of wonderful patience and good nature, else he would have dismissed Nund Comar as he was very desirous of doing from his known and notorious bad practices. At the end of 3 years Muhammad Yar Beg was dismissed from his post and went to Moorshidabad, taking with him his Dewan Nund Comar. After his arrival there one year was spent in examining him concerning the balance of his account, during which period the Nabob Mehabut Jung died, and Shiraj-ud-Dowla became absolute Nazim who after a little time quarrelled with the English gentlemen, and took and plundered Calcutta and at first appointed Mirza Muhammad Ally to be Fowjdar of Hooghly, and afterwards Shaik Umerulla. At that time Dewan Nund Comar, having scraped together a little money from his former post, left his former master's accounts unsettled, and by bribery procured himself

to be made Dewan to Shaik Umerulla and after some space of time found means to procure the dismissal of Umerulla and to get himself appointed Fowjdar in his room. About that time when Colonel Clive Sabut Jung was besieging Chandernagar, Dewan Nund Comar Roy sent him complimentary messages by one Kissen Ram Bose, and upon his first coming the Colonel conceived a prodigious friendship for the Dewan, and upon this introduction, after the Col. had taken Chandernagar, defeated the Nabob Shiraj-ud-dowla, and placed Mir Mahomed Jaffer Cawn upon the musnad, Dewan Nund Comar Roy was permitted constantly to visit the Colonel from Hooghly, and was also sometimes consulted by him upon particular affairs to shew an evident partiality for him. It now happened that Colonel Clive was to go to Patna and Maharaja Dooleah Ram appointed Dewan Nund Comar Roy as his vakeel to accompany the Colonel and furnished him with tents and baggage of all kinds and with all his expenses from his own cash to the intent that Nund Comar being constantly attendant upon the Colonel, might use his utmost to cement and to increase the friendship that was between the Maharaja and the Colonel, and afterwards upon the arrival of Dooleah Ram himself at Patna, Nund Comar had so ingratiated himself into favor that it was usual for the people to style him the *black Colonel* by this means Nund Comar had now obtained a comfortable livelihood and was much confided in from his Dewanny at Hooghly. Afterwards when they arrived at Moorshidabad by the strong recommendation of Colonel Clive, Nund Comar was appointed Dewan to Mahomed Amir Beg Cawn who was constituted Fowjdar of Hooghly, Higgely, etc., and when the Company obtained the Tunkaw of Bardwan and Kishnagar for the money due to them, the collections of these two provinces were given to the Dewan Nund Comar, by the recommendation of Col. Clive. Nund Comar now contrived to bring about an enmity between Maharaja Dooleah Ram and the Nabob Mir Mahomed Jaffer Cawn, which almost came to open war at which time the Dewan Nund Comar having raised some auxiliaries brought the Maharaja Dooleah Ram from Moorshidabad to Cassimbazar, from whence he conducted him with all his dependants, baggage and effects to Calcutta. After which Dewan Nund Comar returned to Hooghly and to the care of his own affairs, and at that period at the height of his authority he demanded from Muhammad Yar Beg Cawn who had been his great friend and patron, 14,000 rupees under pretence of expenses formerly incurred, and by threatening him with an examination of all his accounts, Muhammad Yar Beg looking upon Nund Comar's principles to be like those of the adder which will inevitably sting the bosom that cherishes it, paid him his unjust demand. Afterwards Nund Comar gave such pernicious advice to Amir Beg Cawn that he raised a suspicion of him in the mind of the Nabob Mir Mahomed

Jaffer Cawn, so that Amir Beg finding his situation desperate begged leave to resign his post and got on board a vessel. Nund Comar also being much terrified for the consequences of the commotions he had caused and of the practices he had committed, withdrew from his post and set himself down in Calcutta. Raja Ram Sing, Chief Harcarrah, also came and took up his abode in the same place where Maharaja Dooleah Ram had long before fixed his residence. These three persons entered into a close combination and sent vakeels with great expedition to Delhi to solicit employment, *viz.* the post of Dewan of Bengal for Maharaja Dooleah Ram, and the Naib Dewanny for Nund Comar, and for Raja Ram Sing his original appointment. After some time it was discovered that Dewan Nund Comar was soliciting the post of Canongoe for his own son, upon which Maharaja Dooleah Ram was much offended with him, and no longer imparted his secret designs to him: after which Dewan Nund Comar and Raja Ram Sing sent letters from themselves into Hindostan with one accord. At length when Mr. Vansittart Shemsuddin arrived in India, and Mir Muhammad Cossim Cawn was made Naib, and the Nabob Mir Muhammad Jaffer Cawn came to reside at Calcutta, Dewan Nund Comar connected himself very closely with Mir Jaffer Cawn, and they entered into an obligation with each other. But the Nabob Jaffer Cawn made his obligation with this condition, that he would not hold a correspondence with any persons by letter or otherwise himself, but that Nund Comar should act as he thought best, and that hereafter if at any time Mir Jaffer should recover the Nizamut, he would patronize Nund Comar with all his power. At that time Dewan Nund Comar had at first much insinuated himself into the favour of Mr. Vansittart. But afterwards upon Colonel Clive's departure for England when he had learnt a full account of all Nund Comar's mal-practices and had written particularly to Mr. Vansittart upon this subject, Mr. Vansittart still kept up the appearance of friendship and countenance to Nund Comar openly, but at the same time entrusted him with no part of his confidence: upon which Dewan Nund Comar studied every possible method to raise a war and to endanger the Company, to which purpose a letter of his was detected after the victory of Burdwan and the death of Inder Jeet Perkhoe, whereupon Mr. Vansittart put a guard of sepoy upon him and produced before the Council many treasonable letters and copies taken from Nund Comar's house, all which letters and papers Mr. Hastings interpreted, and the whole affair is to be found at large upon the Records of the Council. But as by the contrivances of Nund Comar a dissension was caused among the gentlemen of the Council, he was released from his guard at the end of forty days. After his release he wrote and sent two letters stamped with the seal of Nabob Mir Muhammad Jaffer Cawn, one to Colonel Clive, and one to the Company, containing a number of false

relations and invectives against the English gentlemen and others. This also was discovered to Mr. Vansittart, who thereupon forbid Nund Comar to stir out of his own house or to receive visits from any person, and three or four months passed in this manner, till the arrival of Mr. Coote : at which time by the advice of Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Ellis, Nund Comar waited upon the Colonel whom he persuaded implicitly to pursue the measures pointed out by his false accusations : and when the Colonel was designing for Patna, they gave him several instructions, and it was settled among them that Dewan Nund Comar also should go with them. But then Mr. Vansittart considering what a detriment must come to the affair of the Company from such a step, first entreated that Nund Comar might be left behind. But when he found the Colonel resolute and importunate, it was at last settled that the Colonel should first set off, and that the Dewan Nund Comar should obtain leave from Mr. Vansittart in three or four days afterwards and follow him, that the world might not observe that the Dewan went to Patna in open and direct opposition to the Governor's will. At last when the gentlemen of the Council had set off for Patna a dispute arose in Calcutta concerning some letters which on the outside of the cover bore the seal of Ram Charan Roy but in the inside were written by a different hand, containing certain addresses to Camyon Cawn and others, which had been fabricated by Dewan Nund Comar ; and a letter also was discovered addressed to Monar Lawes with a proposal for exterminating the Companies. Upon these disputes Munshi Sudder-ud-deen and others were grievously harrassed and Nund Comar was again imprisoned under a sepoy guard. All these circumstances are stated in the most clear and authentic manner in the Records of the Council. But even at that period under confinement Nund Comar did not in the least abate of his haughtiness ; but a minute account of this would be too prolix. Afterwards Colonel Coote and the Nabob Mir Mahomed Cossim Cawn came to an open rupture, and Mr. Ellis, Mr. Amyatt and other gentlemen were cut off, and then it became necessary for the gentlemen of the Council to replace Mir Mahomed Jaffer Cawn upon the Musnud : at which time upon the applications of Mir Jaffer, Mr. Batson and other gentlemen released Nund Comar from the sepoy guard where he had been confined near a year, and further to patronize him held a Council at the house of Mir Jaffer, though at that time no body had had any confidence that the Dewan Nund Comar could ever get over his crime. But at last he was released in this manner by their favour, and attended Mir Mahomed Jaffer Cawn in the war against Mir Cossim Cawn with the title of Dewan to the Roy C. Khalsah. When the victory was decisively obtained over Mir Cossim, the Dewan Nund Comar unknown to the Nabob Mir Mahomed Jaffer Cawn, solicited and obtained from the King the title of Maharaja while he

was with the army, which was afterwards, however, confirmed to him by the Nabob Mir Jaffer Cawn. After this when Mir Mahomed Cossim Cawn fled and the Nabob Shuja-ud-dowla had levied an army, Maharaja Nund Comar wrote a letter to Balwant Sing, upon discovery of which treasonable correspondence General Carnac was determined to seize Nund Comar and send him under a guard to Calcutta. But at last by the earnest endeavour of Maharaja Naba Kishen who at that time was Banian to Major Adams, he escaped. A full account of this is to be found in the Records of the Council where every particular of the whole affair may be learnt. After this the Nabob Mir Mahomed Jaffer Cawn came with the Maharaja to Calcutta, who by his pride and insolence having disgusted all the gentlemen who had been the firmest patrons of his life and fortunes, such as Mr. Johnson, Mr. Batson and others, returned to Murshidabad: where upon his arrival he suffered the zemindars to escape with most enormous deficiencies in their revenue, and by this means amassed a fortune of many lacks of rupees and brought all the principal men in the State to the utmost distress. All this may easily be authenticated by investigating what quantity of money was collected in revenue for those two years, and what kind of impositions were put upon all the first men of State. After this when, upon the Nabob Mir Mahomed Jaffer Cawn's death, the Nabob Najam-ud-dowla succeeded to the Musaul during the Government of Mr. Spencer, when Mr. Johnson and Mr. Leicester were sent to Murshidabad, where Mr. Senior and Mr. Middleton then were, and the Nabob Muzaffer Jung who had been summoned to Calcutta was also sent up to Murshidabad, after a tedious and violent dispute Muzaffer Jung was appointed Naib, and the Maharaja was sent under a guard to Calcutta, as the Records of Council will more fully set forth. Some months after this Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner and Mr. Sykes arrived in Calcutta from Europe, whither also came the Nabob Najam-ud-dowla and all his officers. At that time Maharaja Nund Comar himself forged a great many papers and wills and fictitious letters from the Nabob Nijeb Cawn to Muzaffer Jung, and brought false accounts of Muzaffer Jung's maladministrations at Dacca to Lord Clive. But as that Lord had formerly known the extraordinary fallacies and frauds of the Maharaja, and had discovered his waste and appropriation of lacs of rupees, notwithstanding all the efforts of Mr. Gregory in his behalf, he never would have the least opinion of them, but flatly and plainly declared that he was fully acquainted with all Nund Comar's iniquities, and that he knew his whole designs ever to have been to stir up disturbances in the Kingdom, and that when he (Lord Clive) was formerly in India, Nund Comar had always given him the most pernicious advice. In short, Lord Clive appointed Muzaffer Jung the principal minister and appointed Maharaja Dooleah Ram and Jagat Set to assist

him in the Government, and had determined in his own mind for the tranquility of the Kingdom to banish Nund Comar into Chittagong and all Nund Comar's family were then in the utmost tribulation upon that account. This circumstance is also to be met with in the Records of the Council during Lord Clive's Government. But Maharaja Nabakissen represented that as Maharaja Nund Comar was a Brahmin it was not right to punish him too severely; therefore, his sentence of banishment to Chittagong was left unexecuted. When Lord Clive departed for Europe, and Mr. Verelst succeeded to the Chair, and Nund Comar found he should not be banished to Chittagong, he set about all methods to prejudice Nabakissen and suborned a woman by name Necloo for a present of 2000 rupees to accuse Maharaja Nabakissen of having forcibly committed a rape upon her. This affair after a long and minute investigation proved to be all a contrivance and a false accusation, and Ram Surrun Ghose who had been suborned by Maharaja Nund Comar to tutor the girl properly, was drummed out of the town and banished. Besides this upon the same affair fourteen blank covers of letters sealed with many English gentlemen's and Hindostany names were found in the Maharaja Nund Comar's house, and delivered into Council, as may be fully proved by reference to the Records of Council. Besides which if the Records of Council under each particular Governor were searched, many other notorious offences of Maharaja Nund Comar would come to light. After this in the Government of Mr. Hastings the Maharaja betook himself to the old practices and was guilty of the most palpable and notorious fallacies and frauds in the affair of the Nabob Musaffer Jung, as the proceedings of Council will fully set forth; and after the favours conferred upon him by the Governor, the notorious ingratitude with which he has now treated him is as clear as the sun. The inference is this, that whoever has at any time conferred any obligation upon Maharaja Nund Comar, he has never failed to return a proportionable degree of malice and evil. These few outlines of his character are drawn to give some small idea of him, though not one villainy in a hundred, nor 1,000th part of his crimes are herein displayed. But by the blessing of God the full and complete account of the Maharaja and of all his transactions shall hereafter be particularly and minutely recorded in a larger work.

No. 455.

CALCUTTA,

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

The 2nd November 1775.

My dear Sister,

I would seize this opportunity of sending triplicates of my despatches, but as the matters which particularly concern myself have been already

forwarded in the common course, and the material occurrences from the commencement of the New Government to the present period are fully set forth in the papers now transmitted by Mr. Hastings. I shall content myself with referring you to those. I enclose you a letter to Messrs. Graham and McLane [Lean] who will furnish you with a copy of the papers or send you the originals which you will immediately get copied and lay before each of our friends whose station in life and abilities may enable them to place the transactions they relate in the first point of view and defend the characters of Mr. Hastings and your brother from the attacks made upon them by a disappointed Junto in pursuit of the private objects of their ambition. Every thing we hold dear is at stake; our fortunes, our reputations depend on the decision. Every means, therefore, must be exerted to ensure success, every friend engaged in vindicating our cause, and no expense, be it what it may, spared to turn the scale in our favour. My purse I have already submitted to your disposal, use it at your discretion even to the last shilling if necessary, secure that, his success will compensate any charge, however great, that may be incurred. Conceive not that any former differences I may have had with Mr. Hastings will render the accomplishment of our wishes a dear or precarious purchase to me. I have the most perfect reliance on the harmony that subsists between us, and, be assured, it will never enter his mind to make a base return to a man who supports him from principle and with a zeal and firmness that vies with his most approved friends. I know him better, the qualities of his heart will not allow him to be deficient, and so entirely am I persuaded of this that I engage my friends and fortune with alacrity in his cause and conjure you by the dear ties of our long uninterrupted friendship to the full exertion of your powers and the powers of our friends. My remittances of this year will amount at the least to £40,000 in indubitable bills on the English and Dutch Companies, 30,000 of which are on the latter. I note this that you may take up monies without apprehension of disappointment, and adding what is already in your hands to such expected sums, manage the whole to the utmost advantage. I have received the protested bills you returned by the *Hilborough* and will recover their amount here.

No. 456.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th November 1775.

TO WILLIAM BARWELL, ESQ.

My dear Brother,

Your letter of the 5th of December 1774 as far as it relates to myself is kind and friendly, and I am much obliged by the favourable sentiments

you are pleased to express of my honour and respect to my word. It shall be my care to do justice to your good opinion and cautiously to avoid every occasion that may lead you to retract or to alter it. Your affection for me which operates with the fears you entertain of my sister's management has, however, given a severe turn to the reflections you pass upon her conduct, reflections, I hope, unmerited and which on a return of good humour, the natural placidness of your temper will rather regard as indications of displeasure at peculiarities that have given you offence, than as just stricture on her mode of action. James on his return will, I make no doubt, satisfy all your scruples touching the trust money which has been the spring of your uneasiness. I deem myself bound both in honour and in justice to bear you harmless in this particular, and my only request is that being so engaged to you, you will rest satisfied with the ample security of my fortune and not traverse the influence which, you must be sensible, a command of money gives by a proper disposition of it. It is not by a scrupulous exactness, it is not by nice punctilios of attention that flatter the mind, that family unions are cemented, it is by a liberal construction of the actions of the individuals; it is by not carping at those peculiarities which distinguish the dispositions of each, it is by bearing with those trifling blemishes that can not be amended, and by a confidence expressive of our affection to all that this is to be done. I need not then tell you how much I am hurt at the misunderstanding between you and many. No good can result from it, and the interest of your friends may be injured by it, but as to enter into the merits of your mutual disagreements can answer no one purpose, I will not prove the sore it would only rankle it, and my wish being to heal your differences, I shall be silent as to their cause and content myself simply with observing that a mutual diffidence seems to have usurped the place of that confidence which should be reciprocally nurtured by you both and bind you to each other. As this is the case, may a brother's request so far prevail with you as to induce you to divest yourself of any little prejudice and to join in the promotion of his views? Think it not possible, my Brother, that our Sister can have any interests independent of mine, nor I any independent of those fraternal ties which render me solicitous to have the means of pushing my brothers forward in life. I have conversed with our brother, James, in all points, and he coincides in opinion that I can not have a more affectionate or a more active agent than our sister, Mary. She is to be sure, he says, rather inattentive to money matters, but in other respects indefatigable and persevering, that my advancement is the first and only object of all her endeavours, and that those endeavours are unremitting.

James who will arrive with you soon after this letter will, I make no doubt, fully satisfy you in every particular you may wish to know. Give my

love to Harry and remember me kindly to Mrs. Barwell to whom as an Asiatic I beg leave to pay my respects in the eastern mode by a trifling present of muslins that I shall give in charge to our brother. Adieu.

No. 457.

CALCUTTA,

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

The 22nd November 1775.

Dear Leicester,

I thank you for the following letters: 12th December 1774, 31st January 19th February and 4th, 6th and 14th March 1775.

When I expostulate freely with my friends, I do it in confidence of their making just allowances for the medium in which all mankind judge of the objects presented to them, and as the difference is as great between "The optics seeing as the objects seen", I shall no more insist on the propriety of my own opinions than I am able to persuade myself those you advanced were well adapted to the interested intercourse of men engaged in public scenes of life. Calumny, prejudice, passion joined to the other weaknesses of human nature give to men of great talents and little principle advantages which seldom fall to the lot of *simple* merit and *modest* worth, but enough I never meant to dispute. You, my old Friend, expressed a disapprobation while you complied with my request. I wished my request had been approved as well as acquiesced to.

Another matter for ill-humour will not, I hope, occur. I have not a friend I love much better than yourself, nor any I am less disposed to offend. Will Lushington and all those who know me know this, nor are you ignorant that I as warmly pay the dues of friendship as I expect to be paid by them?

All the great advantages Hastings and I derive from our *honourable* appointment are complicated attacks on our characters, but I hope, I shall rise superior to such malevolence and pass from the present unpleasant scenes I am engaged in to far more agreeable prospects. I have no wish to leave India, and had I not been so particularly enjoined to draw with Hastings by some who pretend to speak from St. James, and likewise by the strange promiscuous rage of my associates to defame every friend and foe I had, I should most probably have declined altercation or taking part with either. I think Hastings has been very ill-used; he is in a most disagreeable situation, but hope buoy up his mind, and I see not the least decline of vigor or of ability. His temper has been so severely taxed on occasions which have arisen daily to vex and ruffle it that from a very impatient man, he

is become as much collected and possessed of himself as any one I ever knew.

The Company's plan for liquidating their interest debt has unluckily for many been anticipated. There will not be a bond left undischarged by April next; all are called in, and there is now laying in the treasuries 30 lacs over and above the appropriations made for discharging the debt.

All your bills will be duly honoured, and I wish as matters are circumstanced, you may have drawn for the whole of your monies at any exchange.

P.S.—Beaumont has not sent any account, but I am not anxious for such things. I know he will take as much care of my interest as myself, though I believe at present he has so little money of mine that he will be obliged to apply to my sister to enable him to discharge my drafts of last years, unless he has received the balance due on the bills drawn on Mayne and Needham, Chevalier's bills protested have been sent me. Thanks for them.

No. 458.

CALCUTTA,

TO JOSEPH CATOR, ESQ.

The 22nd November 1775.

Dear Sir,

You will please to acquaint Mr. Barwell that I can not possibly pay Mr. Batson, that I have a letter from Mr. Batson which mentions that he will not distress me, and that I wrote my brother last year to endeavour once more to persuade Mr. Batson to give up some part of his claim.

H. GRANT.

P.S.—May I entreat of Mr. Barwell to write something in my favour? What can Mr. Batson expect of me more than others, and more than I have got and he is a man of fortune too.

H. G.

No. 439.

CALCUTTA,

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

The 22nd November 1775.

My dear Sister,

Every instance of your affection cannot prove otherwise than grateful to me, and it is of little signification whether the object of it is mistaken, I am still equally indebted to the principle which influences a testimony of your regard, and I am now to return you my thanks for what calls a blush into my

face. Had I intended to have introduced to your knowledge the boy I sent to England under the care of Captain Carr, I would certainly have mentioned his name to my brother. Whether he is my natural child or not is apocryphal—most probably he is not. Be that as it may, the infant was so far adopted by my humanity as to be protected from want. I reared him and proposed to have had him educated in a style suited to the character in which I intended him to appear in life. I made known to Captain Carr these my intentions, and flattered myself he would strictly have adhered to them, instead of which I understand from my brother, James, the boy is educated and treated after a manner by no means suitable to a dependant and servile condition, that he has been introduced to you under my name and as my son, and that you have received and treated him as such. Now I never meant he should behold himself in that light, nor me in any other than that of his patron and friend. To rectify this error of Captain Carr's the first step necessary is to restore to him the name by which I called him, Richard Hunter, and that this may be effectually done I must positively insist on his being rebaptised by that name. The next thing I must insist upon is that the charge of his education including cloths, etc., be limited to £50 per annum, that he must regard his birth as low and his expectations as nothing beyond what his own talents as a merchant's clerk may entitle him to, and that he may be able to acquit himself in that sphere of life I would have him made a perfect master of accounts and a good penman, and as soon as he is perfected in these particulars, he is to be sent back to his native country where he will naturally choose to spend his days, respecting in that degree which may be due to his merits and good qualities if he has any, and if he has not talents to push him forward, he will here, as a merchant's clerk, be both happy and easy in his situation.

Though these are my sentiments and this the sphere of action I have determined for him, yet I would not for a little expense check his education if the powers of his mind do already unfold and promise any extent of capacity: in that case I would wish to make him master of the classics and master of the Arabic and Persian tongues and give him a knowledge of the French Language, but whatever he is taught let it be strongly inculcated on his mind that he is as an orphan brought up by the hand of charity and is to depend on his own talents to fabricate his future fortunes. The rudiments of Arabic and Persian are much better and much sooner learnt in Europe than Asia if I may judge from the works of Mr. Jones.

I have mentioned to you in the first part of my letter what I intended and meant by giving the boy introduced to you as my child for his education in England. The time he has already prosecuted studies so superior to a mere merchant's clerk may possibly have been happy for him in a country like

this. Superior talents prove a certain independency to those who possess such. If the boy's mind does not promise to expand itself all he has learnt is useless, and he will regret for his life the mistaken zeal of my friend, Carr, to render him a gentleman without giving him the knowledge necessary to acquire the means by which he is to support that character. James will tell you more particulars of my sentiments touching the education of my little Black orphan.

No. 460.

CALCUTTA,

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQ.

The 23rd November 1775

Dear Beaumont,

Since my last I have received yours of the 2nd March enclosing Chevalier's bill for Rs. 11,666-13-4 principal. My sister has sent the other for a similar sum in favour of my late brother. I am glad with all my heart they are returned even though poor Middleton is no more, who was responsible for them.

The plan sent out by the Company for lowering the rate of interest to the disappointment of all my Asiatic connections is anticipated. It would have proved had it taken place a very eligible remittance, but unfortunately we are grown so rich that in the treasuries there is thirty lacs of rupees over and above the appropriations for the entire payment of the Company's interest debt in Bengal. I told you as much last year and how our present new State jugglers had attempted to disguise the truth and had represented the Company's affairs in Bengal on the brink of ruin, and this at a time we were in bank near a crore of rupees. All the bonds will be finally discharged as they grow due and the interest books closed in April next. My last of the 3th August proposed an alternative respecting the sum I held of yours in the year 1770, and which I sought then to have remitted, and which I think myself bound in honour to make up to you. The mode I proposed was, I thought, fair and equitable to put you on the same footing as you would have been, had the Company's bill granted that season of 1770-71 been procured for you.

Colonel Morgan gives me a bad account of the disposition you are in to your India friends. He says that you call me all to naught for a lazy fellow, good for nothing in not sending you every year a bag of fine Patna rice, &c. Do, my Friend, find excuses for me, and that do not impeach my friendship and regard for you and I shall be satisfied. I will send Patna rice and scribble a sheet or two extra in a twelve month.

No. 461.

CALCUTTA,

TO STANLAKE BATSON, ESQ.

The 23rd November 1775.

Dear Sir,

I shall be happy at all times to receive your instructions and happier still if such attention as I can pay to them answer your expectations and my wishes to have a place in your esteem. Your accounts have and shall be regularly sent you. Your monies shall be as secure as my own, and I will superintend as much as in my power the trifling concerns you have still here. Your falling upon some mode of remittance becomes more and more necessary as the Company have liquidated their whole interest debt in Bengal, and the last payment on that account will be completed the approaching April.

I would trouble you on the subject of the unpleasant scenes I have of late been engaged in, but personal matters generally prove tiresome to our friends, and public ones are of too great notoriety to require a relation. I will not therefore vex you or myself with disagreeable narrative, but prescribe myself to a simple request for your interest on any occasion on which it may be serviceable to me.

No. 462.

CALCUTTA,

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

The 23rd November 1775.

My dear Sister,

I think in some one of my former letters, I mentioned to you I had redrawn the money I sent to China as not depending on any orders from which I hoped to have benefitted. I shall now in consequence of the encouragement I have received consign to Mr. Harrison a remittance if I can effect it and I think I can, of four lakhs to China. It is not my intention to join any person with him in the agency, as it would be giving him a trouble without any adequate compensation, and from the politeness of Mr. Harrison's conduct, I should be happy and am anxious to make him some trifling return in this way as a testimony of the sense in which I regard his attention to your application, and as expressive of my wish for his future friendship on similar occasions. I beg you will make my acknowledgments to Mr. Harrison for the trouble I may have given him.

The bills negotiated by Mr. Price you may either transact by your own agents or the House of Rumbold Charlton and Raikes, as you may find most easy and convenient to yourself. Exclusive of those bills are the following which are at my own risk and the produce of which whether more or less than two shillings for the current rupee is to my advantage or loss, viz. :—

				Gullders	Silvers
1	Bill for Sicca Rupees	19,475 @ 27 stivers	...	26,291	5
1	Ditto	20,590 do.	...	27,675	...
1	Ditto	18,450 do.	...	24,907	10
1	Ditto	17,425 do.	...	23,523	15
1	Ditto	16,400 do.	...	22,140	...
1	Ditto	10,250 do.	...	13,837	10
<hr/>				<hr/>	
	Total	...	1,02,500	1,38,375	...
<hr/>				<hr/>	

The bills I obtain on the English Company I have made over to my brother, James, who is so friendly as to bind himself to answer some engagements I had contracted, and to the amount of these bills he will engage India Stock for himself, which in the votes it gives him will be at your devotion:

I am not able from any of your letters to form a precise judgment for what stock I am responsible, but as I have a full confidence in James, who at the same instant he secures himself from any loss, is bound by the ties of honour and affection not to subject me to any difficulties by a misuse of the securities I gave him. I have been induced to take his word for granted, and have bound myself to answer the minors' fortunes as stated by him to be at your disposal. My fortune in your hands is an ample security for the minors, and being so you will not lock up the money in any of the funds where it may be useless to me, but employ it in such manner as may advance my interests, and, as the minors come of age, satisfy their just expectations. The large sum locked up in Sir George Colebrooke's hands you must at all events recover and foreclose the mortgage on his West India Estates. The debt running on in the manner it does will only involve me in further difficulty. Nothing is to be expected from his brother-in-law, Mr. Gilbert who has been as unhappy in his commercial pursuits here as he was in Europe. In short, my dear Sister, ascertain at once what loss I am to account upon and take to yourself the management of all the sums you can recover from Sir George. From the circulation of such recoveries I shall be benefitted by the influence the money will give you, and if it remains locked up as at present, I neither derive present advantage from it nor expect from the protraction of payment any particular benefit. Indeed, I am certain none can arise, for if the inability of Sir George is true, every day will render that inability greater, he is withdrawn from business, no profits can arise from thence to answer an accumulating interest. Every year's delay, therefore, makes my condition worse, a war too will reduce the value of West India securities, etc., on which I have spoken to James who will give you my ideas, but remember, they are

not to bind you to act against your own judgment. I leave you at full liberty and in full confidence of your love and am persuaded you will do the best for my interests. I enclose a letter to Sir George. I forgot to enquire whether you were in receipt of the income of the West India Estates. This you certainly should have been circumstanced as you are. Be cautious, my dear Sister, suffer not yourself to be amused.

I would wish you to realise the Dutch bills as early as possible, either by borrowing money to be discharged by you within a twelve month or eight months, which you may do depending on the receipts of the money due on the bills before that period, or discount the bills, but I apprehend discounting the bills will be more changeable to me than a simple loan for a specified time. The money to be paid to you by Captain Monier's Agents is, I flatter myself very safe, and that you will punctually receive it, and as it is possible the Agents may incline to discount it and pay you the sum in January or February 1777 instead of June, you will consider whether it is for my interest to take it up. This depends entirely on the use you can make of the money. I am very glad Mr. Chevallier's two bills for principal £11,666 have been returned as I shall make up the difference and have fresh bills for the balance with a mortgage of interest notes of responsible persons lodged in my hands to secure me in case of a disappointment. These bills will be upwards of £8,000 and shall be forwarded by the next conveyance.

P.S.—As it is impossible to foresee by what accidents to either you or me the minors may be involved, such stock as may be held by you should in case of accidents be secured to them, viz. the amount that is or may be in the India Funds reserving to yourself the influence to be derived from the monies so lodged. I will take care to advise you in time to make insurance for the sums that may be lent on respondentia to China, should no other mode of remitting to China offer.

No. 463.

CALCUTTA.

TO SIR GEORGE COLEBROOKE.

The 22nd November 1775.

Dear Sir,

I have been favoured by your letters through the usual channel of the Company's packet and through Mr. Gilbert. I do not know any thing that would give me greater pleasure than attentions expressive of my sense of obligation and a concern for your reverse of fortune. Permit me to add to the assurance the more particular wish I have to rank myself in the number of your friends and as such to be regarded by you.

Mr. Gilbert will doubtless inform you how gloomy his prospects are in this country, and, indeed, every day from the alteration of system, they will become more proscribed. As this is the case, I can form no hope or expectation that the loans made to you by my sister can ever be liquidated in Bengal. It is, indeed, impossible equally by the present circumstances of Mr. Gilbert, and the unpromising aspect of trade in general. So situated you will not, I hope, conceive the demands of my family pressed with any unbecoming importunity. The necessity there is to come to a final adjustment and to ascertain what you may be enabled to discharge of your debt, is so obvious that my solicitude to close these transactions will not, I think, be subjected to misconstruction or misconception. The fortunes of those entrusted to my care demand my thoughts, and while I am anxious for their security, I am no less so for accommodating its obtainment to your convenience. I have written to Mrs. Barwell on this subject, to whom I must refer myself. I have told her how much I am pressed by the Trustees, how necessary it is they should be satisfied, and how much better it must be for all parties to be on a certain footing.

The temper of the times and the distracted state of this Government are of too public notoriety to need relation here. You will hear of them from a hundred persons as intimately acquainted with the facts as I am myself. I can only regret in this troubled scene to perceive a strange perverseness of disposition which *[illegible]* will merit in detraction, and I can adventure to affirm that the gentlemen who blame so severely Mr. Hastings and his measures, can claim no other title to the public esteem than their censure of him. Point out in any one instance an advantage gained to the Company since the commencement of the present Government that does not result from his past attention. Let the public judge the deserts of the gentlemen now in opposition to him by this impartial test and decide upon their contest.

It will give me singular satisfaction to shew every degree of regard in my power to Mr. Gilbert, but at this instant I have not in my disposal the most trifling post, nor have I had it in my power so much as to make the least provision for my own brother.

I am, with esteem, Dear Sir,
Your most obedient servant.

No. 464.

CALCUTTA,

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

The 1st November 1775.

My dear Sister,

Mr. Price having negotiated with the Dutch Governor and Council at Chinsurah for bills on the Dutch East India Company to the amount of four

hundred and twelve thousand sicca rupees at the rate of exchange of 28 Stivers for one sicca rupee. I have taken from Mr. Price to the amount of sicca rupees one hundred fifty four thousand five hundred (sicca Rs. 1,54,500) in bills made payable to you on the following condition:—

The bills are to be negotiated by his agents, Messrs. Rumbold, Charlton and Railkes, whom he has advised to that purpose, they are to make good to you two shillings sterling for every current rupee within one year from the date of the bills, that is on or before the first day of November 1775. They must make good to you on account of these bills the sum of seventeen thousand nine hundred and twenty two pounds sterling (£17,922) which is the equivalent agreed on for the sum of current rupees one hundred seventy nine thousand two hundred and twenty (Crs. 1,79,220) which I made good here the first of November 1775.

Mr. Price having an interest in these bills over and above what he is to make good to me, the negotiation is to rest entirely with his agents above mentioned to whom you will deliver the bills for that purpose, provided the said agents give an acknowledgement to answer the amount for the above sum of £17,922 before specified within the limited period. If they do not give such an obligatory receipt you or my other attorneys will negotiate the bills and account to Mr. Price or his Attorneys for any interest he may have on these bills, that is, for whatever may be the excess of their produce beyond the £17,922.

No. 465.

CALCUTTA,

The 23rd November 1775.

TO MISS FRANCIS BARWELL.

Dear Sister,

The intercourse of friendship is one of the greatest sweeteners of life, and those who are in a manner debarred from it, by living in a country distant from their family and natural connections, feel a solicitude from this cause, though otherwise easy and happy in their situations. Taken up by pursuit that continue to separate me from you and my other dear relations I satisfy my mind with the hope that the time is not very distant that is to restore me to you, and I confess I now more particularly wish it, because circumstanced as you are, you probably are anxious for it. However much I may praise your discretion in choosing Mrs. Hawkesworth for your directress friend and companion, I cannot but apprehend her sequestered way of life is ill adapted to the genius and fires of sprightly twenty one. I may be mistaken in this opinion, but it is so rare to find with such disparity of years as between yours and hers, a congeniality of tempers that I feel an uneasiness lest your

situation should not be as agreeable to you as I wish it and should be happy if in my power to make it content. A coarse name for happiness is, however, the best medium of human felicity, and the great art to obtain this state, which is merely indifference to the search of higher enjoyments, is rather to view with self-complacency the conditions of people beneath us, than to suffer our imaginations to dwell on the fair picture presented to us in the higher spheres of life. A loose to our wishes leads us insensibly from one stage to another, and in this progressive craving of the mind we find we are always to be happy and never really are so. Yet how difficult to bound the boundless imagination, the subtlety of thought is incomprehensible, who can trace it rising in the soul or say to their minds, I will you to think thus and thus. Though we can not obviate this intrusion on our peace we can at least oppose its effects, and reason on which man so much values himself will happily aid us to reject infant ideas. Though unequal to the task if we allow them to grow, to gather strength and fix themselves, it is somewhere remarked, I forget in what author, that the reason is only a friend to man, while the different passions and affections alternately oppose each other, that in this consists the balance of the mind, and that reason is too weak to combat separately any one of the senses. I believe this to be a truth and hint it merely that your good sense may apply it, when any prevailing inclination plays on your fancy, and that it may alarm you on the instant to examine it before it gathers a force capable of controlling your reason. The wise and solid maxim that it is better to prevent than to remedy an ill is applicable to all the concerns in life, and by an adherence to this principle without any great strength of mind, without any superior talents, we may finish our career with honor and with ease to ourselves, and as most female virtues are negative they shine with greatest lustre in their own mild natural sphere without braving the dangers to which they stand exposed. My dear Friend, though my affection and a concern for your happiness influences me to these reflections, they likewise influence me to flatter myself they are unnecessary. I am sensible you must fabricate your own felicity, I mean but to promote it. I write to you again [through] your Brother, James. Adieu.

No. 466.

CALCUTTA,

The 23rd November 1775.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE LORD NORTH, &c.

My Lord,

I addressed you the 4th of August, and from that period I resume my subject, still declining the discussion of Party policy in our Government

to which Your Lordship has too little leisure to attend, and confining myself to those matters which you may think in their nature meriting your more particular regard. I have already noticed the benefit to arise to Bengal by the treaty this Government has entered into with the Subahdar of Oudh, and likewise mentioned to Your Lordship the weakness and distressed circumstances of that Prince. Immersed in indolence, with capacity totally unqualified to govern, every department of his state is distracted and ill-administered, his army mutinous, his treasuries exhausted and his revenue not one-half collected. Some letters just now received from his Court not only intimate this, but declare so great an apprehension for the safety of his person that the relief of the brigade stationed in Oudh cannot take place in the manner proposed. It continues with him for his protection and will not move until the other brigade arrives at its post and has his person in protection. In this situation of things, it is to be regretted that the abilities of our Resident at the Court of Oudh has not been more equal to the important occasions that require their exertion. A proper and well-timed exposition of circumstances, I make no doubt, would have obviated the impending troubles and it certainly should have been his first object to have pressed the Minister to have placed the finances and standing forces of the Kingdom on a proper footing. Instead of this the Minister has been allowed to put the Nawab upon such pitiful expedients as those of extracting money by the way of loan and of intimidation, and to conclude so extraordinary a scene on which I know not whether the master's folly or servant's villany is most conspicuous. The English Government in the person of its Resident guarantees a solemn treaty between the Nabob Asoph-ul-Dowla and Bow Beghum. This treaty simply stipulates that the Begum Mother shall pay down the sum of thirty lacs, and that the son, the Nabob of Oudh, shall not again molest her for any loans, but leave to her the quiet possession of her honours and estates. This is the last sum extorted nearly to the same amount that had been taken before, and exclusively the Minister had set the Nabob upon taxing the monied men in his dominions for the express purpose of answering his engagements to the English Government. The murmurs and discontents thus occasioned, the opposition the collectors met with, and the odium thrown on the English name soon, however, suppressed this attempt to replenish the Nabob's coffers. I have already observed, my Lord, that the payment made by the Begum Mother of the last thirty lacs to be upon a solemn engagement ratified by the English Resident, that she is not again to be molested. These absurd temporary expedients being now exhausted, the regulating the revenue and forces of the Nabob comes recommended to this Government by the Minister, but in such a manner as equally exposes the English Resident,

the Minister, and the Nabob. The plan of reform of the civil and military establishments and the finances is such undigested nonsense that you must allow me, my Lord, to lay it before you, and to ask you, my Lord, if it be possible from such a plan for gentlemen ignorant of the internal resources of the country to form any idea of what is necessary to be done. The only particular to which the Minister descends is the tuncaws granted on the revenue the immediate resumption of which he urgently recommends, but neglects at the same instant to point out what equivalent will influence the holders of these tuncaws to return them to the Nabob. From hence I conclude he wishes the English Power to be exerted to compel these people to relinquish their claims, and that the debts of Government should be liquidated by an arbitrary act of resumption of the securities given to discharge them. The rest of the plan is exactly of a piece and may be comprized in twenty words—"In regulating the revenue choose men of honesty and capacity, set proper officers over it and it will be duly collected and brought to account." Some forces should be maintained and some should be dismissed, but the number are nowhere specified. This comprises the whole of the plan. We are not told the sum at which the income of the State may be estimated. We are not told what civil list is necessary to be kept up. We are not told what the present incidental expenses of the Government are. Thus circumstanced you must think, my Lord, we are as little qualified to apply a remedy to the distractions of the Nabob's Government as to regulate that of China or of Tartary to which we are utter strangers. It is impossible to say what consequences may result to us from the Nabob's folly, his Minister's villainy, and our Resident's want of address in managing the follies of each and leading them into a system safe and honorable for his Government and advantageous to ours. Every thing at present seems rapidly tending to increase the anarchy and confusion that at this instant prevails, while in our Councils a decided majority pursue measures that are neither calculated to retrieve the false steps daily taken by our ally, nor to secure those interests which must infallibly fall with him. It is a long time since any sums were paid by the Nabob on account of his pecuniary engagements to the English Government, and a longer period must elapse before we can renew our demands. It is true the revenue of Gazipore does compensate, in a degree for this disappointment, but while we have a just claim on His Highness for near forty lacs more, the enabling him to answer it is an object of the most serious consideration. I cannot here but lament the Governor's inability and my own to serve our country and the Company, deprived as we are of all means of information by the country correspondance being carried on by the Council through the Resident, the Governor-General only authenticating the letters by his signature. We are almost as much in the

dark as our associates. Formerly I should not have scrupled to have engaged secret and intelligent native agents, but since the jealousy and ill-humour that has shewn itself in the present Government, I conceived it equally prudent and necessary to decline affording room for the umbrage that might be taken at it. Besides I must confess, my Lord, that my appointment ill allows my engaging in such expensive contingencies, though this would not have been a consideration with me at any other period when my motive might have been candidly interpreted.

Although the Nabob of Oudh's Government is endangered by the mutinous disposition of his troops and the general discontents of his subjects, it does not appear that these distractions have been fomented by any of the leading men of his court, nor is there any traces of a projected revolution. They must, of course, have their rise entirely in the weakness of the administration, in the vexatious modes fallen upon to rifle his people, and in the non-payment of the armies kept up for the service of the State. It is not, therefore, to be doubted but a reform will quiet men's minds and restore the Nabob's affairs, but when or how this reform will be effected, it is not in my power to inform your Lordship. The occasion is certainly urgent, and delays must be productive of the worst consequences. As yet no men of consequence have shown signs of defection except the two Gossain Rajas who hold the Government of Dooab. These men have under their command a considerable force and will not suffer themselves to be plundered. The eldest brother was lately at the Court of the Nabob, whom our Resident advised him to arrest, but the Nabob chose to decline this advice; and he has since allowed him to return to his Government.

I mentioned in my last address to your Lordship that I imagined the Bombay Government having surmounted the difficulties it had first to struggle with, in supporting the cause of the Peshawa Ragooboy, the subsequent stages of the Mahratta war would not expose our forces to any great risk. Since the writing that letter Mr. Taylor, a Member of the Bombay Select Committee deputed solely for the purpose of communicating the grounds of that war and its present state, has laid before us a complete relation of facts. However much to blame the Bombay gentlemen may be thought for engaging in so important an enterprize, their political measures appear to me not to have been mistaken, the occasion was inviting and had it been seized earlier, that is before, the forces of Ragooboy had been totally defeated, success would have been less precarious and the object sooner accomplished.

When the orders of the Bengal Council directing the immediate cessation of hostilities reached Bombay, a vakeel was arrived with the army authorized to ratify all the grants made by Ragooboy, but as he had not

entered on the execution of this commission, whatever orders he had were revoked, and the Minister's sending the letter addressed to them by the Bengal Government to Bombay in a peremptory tone required the English troops to be withdrawn and the ceded lands to be restored. Much has been said on this subject in the course of our debates. Peace is unanimously our object, but we differ as to the mode, and I fear this difference will lose to us the opportunity offered of an advantageous accommodation. The Company at present have not means to support the Bombay Establishment, and yet Bombay is of great importance both to the political and commercial interests of the Company, much more so than is generally admitted. The expense, however, has been a burden borne with impatience, and, indeed, unless a weight is given to the Government in the political scale, I must acknowledge to your Lordship, I see no utility in continuing so large a military force there.

For the state of Bengal a few words will suffice. The debts with which the Company was burdened, are in a train of payment, and over and above the appropriations made for their discharge, a sum not less than thirty lacs will be remaining in the treasuries. Excepting the internal distractions of Oudh no political interests immediately affect Bengal.

I am, my Lord,

With the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant.

[*To be continued.*]

Members' Note-book.

THE following inscription from the Dacca cemetery is not given in Wilson.

" Within this inclosure were interred:—

Henry Smith	} Able Seamen.
Neil McMuller	
James Munro	
William Axenden	

Alexander McMiller

and

Robert Brown Artillery Gunner

who died of wounds received

In action against the rebel sepoya

at the Lal Bagh, Dacca in November 1857.

" Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."

I venture to suggest that the Society take steps to obtain a complete transcript of the inscriptions in the Dacca cemetery. Wilson gives some, Nos. 771-813, but there are a great many more and some are of considerable interest to the historian of Bengal; besides the climate of Dacca is not favourable to the preservation of inscriptions.

I regret that when I was Chaplain of Dacca I did not do it, but at that time I knew not the Calcutta Historical Society.

H. F. F. WILLIAMS.

The following three inscriptions are in the old cemetery at Sabathu, Punjab [probably the oldest cantonment in the Simla Hills] and may interest Bengal readers:—

(1) Sacred to the memory of
Henry Cavell, Esqre.

Surgeon to the Governor-General of India

who departed this life 21st June 1827.

Mr. Cavell died at Sabathu on the first visit a Governor-General ever paid to Simla.

(2). Sacred
to the memory of
Frances Isabella, wife of
Major A. Roberts
who died 14th May 1827
Aged 24 years 7 months.

A fond parent, an exemplary wife,
A faithful friend, a humble Christian.

Major Roberts by his second wife was the father of the late Lord Roberts of Kandahar.

(3). Another is a good example of an unhappy inscription:—

In memory of R & E

The beloved wives of J. M. J.—

The former was born 26th Jan. 1818 and died 2nd Sept. 1845.

The latter was born 4th Aug. 1822 and died 17th Jan. 1856.

"The last enemy that shall be destroyed
is death."

H. F. F. WILLIAMS.

In Fr. Hosten's excellent article in number twenty-four of *Bengal: Past & Present* a slight mistake seems to have slipped into the notes. On page 308, note 22, he speaks of the Nawab of Dacca in 1576. The same expression occurs in the text on page 287. The tradition of Dacca and the Mahomedan historians are unanimous in stating that the foundation of Dacca was in 1608 by Nawab Islam Khan, even if this is too much to assert, as some have thought, Islam Khan was the first to use the title Nawab of Dacca, and the previous seat of Mogul power in Bengal was at Rajmahal.

I would refer any one interested in the matter to Mr. Bradley Birt's "Dacca,"—or to Khan Bahadur, Sayed Aulad Hossein's article in *Bengal: Past & Present*, No. 3, April 1909, which gives the fruits of a life-time of research into the origin of Dacca.

H. F. F. WILLIAMS.

The Secretary's Notes.

IN continuation of the papers on Nand Kumar and his Early Forgeries published in a series of articles called "More Echoes from old Calcutta," in the *Calcutta Review* of 1912, I publish here a further instalment of official documents on the same topic —

From sundry letters I wrote to the Board in April 1764, it will appear how urgent I was with the Nabob Myr Jafar, so as to be upon the point of entirely falling out with him, to dismiss Nandkumar from his service, as I had been led to believe he was engaged in a criminal correspondence, and how anxious I was to get proofs of the same, as the Nabob rested his refusal upon the want thereof. It is since come to light that Mr. Fullarton had seen the very letter said to be wrote to Balwant Sing by Nandkumar, which was the foundation of the charge against him. I cannot conceive how he can reconcile with his duty to the Company tho' concealing such a letter, yet heartily wish he may be able to clear up a conduct which is at present so mysterious. His keeping this a secret from me is the more extraordinary, as no one was better acquainted how much I had this inquiry at heart, a great intimacy having always subsisted between us, and I had reposed such a particular confidence in him as to have requested his attendance on me as interpreter, till the arrival of Capt. Swinton.

The multiplicity of business which has of late employed the Board's attention not having admitted their examining into this affair previously to the departure of Messrs. Swinton and Stables I have obtained from each of them a signed paper on the subject. The one by Capt. Swinton was shewn to Mr. Fullarton in the presence of Mr. Skinner, the other in the presence of Capt. Pearson. These Gentlemen may be called upon to attest such objections as Mr. Fullarton may have made to the said papers.

I cannot quit this subject without remarking upon a Narrative that was laid before the Board by Mr. Vansittart in Oct. 1764. It was received from Myr [illegible] who hints therein my being so much disposed to favor Nandkumar as to discourage any informations against him. I am inclined to believe he was drawn into this to serve the resentment of the then President against me, but be this as it will, the insinuation is so injurious to my character and the falsehood thereof so universally known that I flatter myself you will not let it pass unnoticed.

I will not take upon me to pronounce whether the letter in question be genuine or a forgery, but as it may be thought proper at some time to

converse this matter I herewith lay before you the substance of a conversation held with Bulwant Singh himself on the subject. It is necessary however to observe that no proofs can be drawn from letters in a Country where they are always wrote by a foreign hand without any signature being made to them, and the covers whereto the seal is affixed can be easily taken off and made to enclose any paper, the which is a frequent [illegible]. I have also to observe thus much in favor of Nundkomar, that tho' I [illegible] in a warmed manner to open himself fully if he had any charge to lay against him, the which if in his power he would readily have done as he was a most inveterate enemy to him, yet he never could be brought to introduce any accusation against him.

Sd/- J. CARNAC

Being about to leave Calcutta for Europe at the request of General Carnac, I now declare all the particulars I know relating to the several examinations that were made concerning a letter said to have been wrote by Nundkomar to Bulwantsing.

Captn Swinton in a letter to the Board about Octr. 1764, wrote a minute account of all the steps that had been taken at that affair, which letter he shewed to me at Mootagheal and I confirmed the truth of the several particulars therein contain'd as far as come to my knowledge, in my letter to the Secretary of the Council dated in or about April last: since that time Mr. Fullerton has acknowledged to me that he had seen the letter at the very time he assisted as the principal Interpreter at the last enquiry that was made concerning it in the Nabobs Durbar tho' he at that time concealed his knowledge of it from the Nabob the General Capt. Swinton and myself. In a conversation I had lately with Mr. Fullerton, he told me the general obliged him to attend at that examination, if that was really the case, it is more than I know, and I am inclined to believe to the contrary.

Feby. 4th. 1766.

Calcutta.

}

Sd/- JOHN STABLES.

Being obliged to leave this Settlement before the examination for which Mr. Fullerton was ordered down from Patna at the instance of General Carnac could be entered upon by the Board, I declare that in or about October 1764 I wrote to the Board a full account of all I knew concerning the inquiry into the conduct of Nundkomar, importing that I looked upon the complaint to be without foundation, and shewed a copy thereof to Mr. Fullerton at Patna in February last who declared in presence of Captn

Pearson that he acquiesced in every thing I had wrote, excepting one trivial circumstance, which is that Myr Ashroff did not come to an entertainment at his house on the night of that day when Capt. Stables and I waited so long for him, but on some other night; altho' I have since heard that Mr. Fullarton actually had in his possession the very letter said to have been wrote by Nundkomar at the time when he was assisting at the last examination concerning it.

Calcutta,	}	A. SWINTON.
January 19th 1766.		

Rajah Bulwantsing being asked in presence of Genl. Carnac Mr. Marriott and Capt. Swinton, from whom he received the letter under Nundkomar's seal, and said to have been wrote by him advising against an alliance with the English, replied it was delivered to him by a pair of cossids whom he knows nothing of—being asked what he knew concerning Messerjee replied, that he was Myr Ashroff's servant and by him recommended to act as his (Bulwantsing's) Vakyl—being asked if he had received any other letter from Nundkomar; replied he had received several friendly letters from him but never any of the same nature as the abovementioned, which was the reason of his sending it to Myr Ashroff for an explanation. Bulwantsing after this inquired if Nundkomar and Myr Ashroff were on good terms at that time, and being told it was supposed they were not, observed that then very little attention was to be paid to the Letter.

Benares,	}	JOHN CARNAC RANDL. MARRIOTT. A. SWINTON.
30th. Augt. 1763.		

Did you after the time you came to the knowledge of the letter ever acted as Intr. to the General

A. No.

Q. Did you ever afterwards translated any letters for the General

A. Yes—but not in capacity of a Persian Translator; nor any public capacity.

Q. Did you ever stand Intr. to Mr. Batson and explain the contents of the letter in question.

A. Yes.

Q. Had Mr. Batson the letter ever in his possession.

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. Billers likewise acquainted with this translation.

A. Yes—and I believe that he even saw it.

Q. Did Mr. Batson ever enjoin secrecy.

A. No farther than by telling me to endeavour to find out privately the authenticity of the letter.

Genl. Carnac begs leave to refer the Board to Mr. Batson's letter to the Secretary the [illegible] by which it would appear that Mr. B. had not seen the letter as he only says Meer Ashroff had acquainted him such a letter had come into his hands and that it is very extra that Mr. B. Batson should employ Mr. F. as interpreter as he was himself as much a Master of the Language as Mr. F. Mr. F. in answer says that the letter was given to him by Mr. B. in order to make enquiry of the Munshies and people versed in the language and see to find out by whom this letter really was wrote. Upon enquiry he found by report that the letter was wrote by one Ackichund who was a Munshie in Nundkomar's employ but this was not till after the examination of the 20th July at which he was present.

Q. Did you in your own private opinion really think it was a genuine Letter or a forgery.

A. I thought from the opinions of Mr. B. & Billers that the letter was from Nundkomar.

Q. Did Mr. B. or Mr. Billers know of the letter before the Examination.

A. Mr. Batson did know of it, as did Mr. Billers which I have pieces ready to prove.

Mr. Fullerton begs leave to put the following questions to the General.

Q. Before the examination of Nundkomar about the 18 July 1764 had not you received intelligence that Ashroff had some fresh Guwah against Nundkomar.

A. Yes I had, and that was the reason I was so extremely anxious to have the affair re-examined.

Mr. Fullerton in his defence says that the reason he concealed the letter from the General was that he thought the General partial to Nundkomar.

The General produces a letter from Mr. Fullerton to Captn. Pearson relative to the above remark and desires an extract from it together with one from that to which it was an answer be entered in these minutes. Mr. Fullerton thereupon lays before the Board the letter from Captn. Pearson and both are now read as follows

Here enter extracts of letters from Mr. Full: and Captn. Pearson to begin at these marks

Mr. Fullarton asks the General why he did not bring this accusation against him in Mr. Billers life time.

A. I did not know any thing of the letter untill during the course of last Campaign when I could not come down to attend to this matter but it was among the first things I acquainted his Lordship with when I saw him.

Upon the whole after mature deliberation it appears to the Board *That as Circ.*

As Mr. Fullarton interpreted at the examination of Nundcomar and was acquainted at that time of an intercepted letter of a treasonable nature supposed to be written by Nundcomar, it was his Duty to desire Messrs. Batson & Billers to inform Genl. Carnac of the contents and if they declined he then ought to have made them known himself. In this transactions Mr. Fullarton appears the more inexcusable on account of the intimate connection between General Carnac and him, more particularly as he had so fair an opportunity of making the discovery during the examination. However as the Board do not suppose that his conduct could have proceeded from bad design, but from inattention, they pass over with censure what must otherwise have called for the most exemplary severity. They cannot but remark at the same time that the General has been extremely ill used in this [illegible] but particularly by Messrs Batson and Billers whose duty it more immediately was to have given him the information.

DEAR PEARSON:—I received your favour of ye. 19th instt. and have only in answer to your first paragraph that wt. respect to your Seal and Sword Hilt you may depend on my endeavours, and of the money received on account of ye. General and expended, Shall either be transmitted or they may be adjusted when you come here, as I hear ye. General is to come down this [illegible] to meet his Lordship.

It gives me ye. greatest concern to find ye. General is not satisfy'd wt. my conduct in ye. affair of Nund Comar, in my defence, I shall suppose for a moment that neither Messrs Batson & Billers had known any thing of ye. letter and that it had been brought to me without further proofs of ye. authenticity of it than the Seal I should have thought it had grounds for an accusation against Nund Comar well knowing how frequent forgerys are in this Country and of ye. letter mind too besides this not being then proof positive, I could never as in your letter to me you mention be reckoned an accomplice wt. Nund Comar as long ere this happened the cry of treason was laid against him and from all quarters [illegible] may if I remember right the Council had even tax'd him wt. it, you mention likewise that when Lord Clive and ye. General meets a more explicit enquiry may be made into this affair as I hope then it may appear to ye. General as well as to ye World

that I have been I hope irreproachable in this affair I most earnestly hope it will take place.

I was then and have ever since been so perfectly convinced of ye. Generals intentions of doing Justice to ye. Publick that I cant help thinking you have rather treated me harshly in tacking me wt. Ashral of being ye. occasion of ye. Worlds thinking to ye. Contrary but as prejudic'd representations of this affair by ye. partys concern'd may have led ye. General to condemn my conduct, I am now to request that you will intercede wt. ye. General, that I may have on his arrival at Patna a personal explanation of it. I am Dear Thomas Your most obedt. Servt.

W. Fullarton.

Patna June 28th 1765. To Captain Thomas Pearson.

Dear Fullarton,

I have received your letter from Moradbag without date, taxing me with neglect in not acknowledging the two letters you wrote me from Calcutta. As they contained nothing of Private Concern, except what altogether depended on your return to Patna, and as each of the movements of the Army as were material would of course be known to you conveyed thro' the public Channel as soon as thro' my private correspondence. I only acted by you conformably to the rest of my acquaintance; that is, to write nothing unnecessarily when I have so much necessary writing, now that you are upon your return to Patna, I shall make inquiry after my equilateral Seal, Sword Mounting and the money belonging to the General received by your Hanian; also an account of whatever expences you have defrayed for the General.

The General two or three days ago received from you an apology for your conduct towards him in the affair of Nundkomar and Bulwantsing, inclosed with a copy of another from you to Lord Clive on the same subject, existence of which gives him the least satisfaction. How far your alleging, that Mr. Batson and Mr. Bickers (who were both Members of the Board) knew of Nundkomar's letter ought to screen you from the imputation of being an accomplice in treason, if Nundkomar be judged a traitor, he cannot have determined as he has never yet been made acquainted with the circumstances of the Board's late inquiry into the matter; and perhaps when he sees Lord Clive a more full and explicit inquiry may be judged necessary; yet however irreproachable your Conduct towards the public may have been, your conduct towards him he can never forgive. At the time you were entirely in his confidence, and well acquainted with what eagerness he endeavoured to come at the truth in a matter extremely

dubious and then of the first moment to the public good, you had sufficient proof in your possession to have remov'd all his doubts; yet you could suffer him to continue in the same uncertainty or rather in the same error, and carry on a most egregious farce by seriously assisting in a mark examination both at your own house and before the Nabob. Reflect well upon this and if hereafter you find he slights you, I think you cannot say it is without a cause from the conduct of Mr. Batson, Mr. Billers, Ashroff and yourself the world may be led to believe that the General chose rather to countenance Nundkomar than do justice to the public you I am sure were well convinced to the contrary, and I think it probable when opportunity will permit it that he may be inclined to convince the world so too. I am

Dear Fullarton

Your very obedt. humble. Servt.

Sd/ THOS. PEARSON.

Camp at Manikpur

19th. June 1764.

I extract the following notes on the antiquities of Murshidabad from one of Dr. Samhita Chandra Mookerjee's note-books:—

Jafirganj, the present residence of Nawab Azem Ali Khan, seems to be named after Nawab Jafer Ali Khan, the founder of the present Nizam's family. (Has it anything to do with Moorshed Kuli Khan whose name was Jafer Khan?)

The present Jafirganj family are descendants of Miran, the eldest son of Mir Jafer who died before his father.

Serajuddaula was brought from Rajmahal and confined at Mir Jafer's house at Jafirganj.—*Rajawali*, pp. 135-36.

After Plassey, Mir Jafer seems to have come and taken up his residence at the Palace of Mansurganj named Imtiyazmahal. On the flight of Seraj-ud-daula he kept guard at the fort, the treasury, the mint and the public buildings. The English marched in triumph through the Kurolia Chowk of Cossimbazar to the Mansurganj Palace.* From there they sent for Durlavaram and the other Sardars and the Setts.

"City Moorshedabad is situated in the Pergunnah of Koolheria of Kismet Chunakhalli." Moorshed Kuli Khan, as provision for his family, purchased the zemindari of the City from Mahammad Aman, a Talookdar of the aforesaid Kiamat, and had it registered in the books of the Khalsa and of the Canongoes, under the description of Assadnagar in the name of Mirza Assadulla (better known by his title of Serferaj Khan, since Nawab), "that after paying

* Serajuddaula resided here. See also Kaul Fakir Mahammad's *Univ. History in Persian*.

the royal revenue, the profit might come to them, and their name remain, and be preserved in the pages of time."—pp. 100-101.

This passage is so remarkable that Gladwin gives the original Persian in footnote. It demonstrates not only the existence of property in land on a large scale in Bengal under the Moguls, but also the antiquity of the zamindari system, both denied by the anti-Cornwallisites. Unless there was some fixity of tenure, unless the Zaminder was more than a collector at will there could be no sale, and so prudent a Governor as Moorshed Kuli would not think of investing his hard earned savings in such a property.

On the subject of Zamindari tenures etc., consult Rouse, particularly the Fourth Report of Secret Committee which is the earliest State paper of any consequence on the matter.

Heerajheel—Mir Jaffier after his deposition was told to remain over the river at Heerajheel, but he was afraid to trust himself there, but asked permission to sleep in his boat near Moradbag.—*Helwell and Orig. Papers.*

Moradbag—The British Residence. "On the 29th in the morning Clive entered the city escorted by 200 of the battalion and 300 sepoy, and proceeded to the habitation allotted for him. It was a palace and a garden, called Moradbag* and spacious enough to accommodate all the troops which accompanied him. Here he was immediately visited by Meerzaun," etc.—*Orme, Madras, II. 181.*

"The palace in which Meer Jaffier resided, (before Plassey) is situated on the southern extremity of Muxadabad, on the island of Cossimbazar. The Nabob resided in a palace called Heraut-Jeel, in the middle of the city, on the other side of the river. Both palaces stand on the bank of the river and fortified with towers, and were provided with cannon."—*Orme, II. 159.*

This is a most valuable passage which settles many questions which have long troubled me. It proves the truth of what they allege at Moorshedabad of the extent of the Old Capital, namely, that from Cossimbazar to Baluchar was one mass of city, filled with habitations, intersected by streets, interspersed with bazaars and chowks, palaces and gardens and villas. It shows that Moorshedabad proper extended from the north of Cossimbazar and Farashdanga to above Nasibpur and the Seths' House.

Knowing that Moorshedabad lay on the eastern bank of the Bhagirathi I could never understand how the Mahrattas plundered it and took some lacs of rupees from Jagat Seth's House without crossing the river, or what was

* A garden house opposite the city, on the bank of the river Bhagiratte.—G. H. post Scott

meant by the citizens removing to the eastern bank in consequence of the Mahratta incursions. Now it is all clear. According to Orme the city lay on both banks. The river passed through it like the Grand Canal in Venice. I still entertain a lingering protest against the statement of the city proper being on both banks, myself inclining to the notion that Moorshedabad was on the eastern bank, and was laid by Moorshed Kuli Khan on the site of Maksudabad, and that the Nawab and Chiefs built their villas and palaces and laid their gardens and parks and dug their canals on the Surrey side, which became the chief environ or suburb, and that gradually in the development of the Capital, many built on the opposite bank rendering it in time and at points quite populous indeed, thus detracting from its character of a retreat. The Seths I know had their houses and grounds on that side. I don't know where there Kotli Office, place of business, bank stood. I believe from of old it stood near their private residence on the eastern bank. Probably they had a branch on the western bank to meet the demands of Sirajuddaula who lived at Heerajheel. Hence the smallness of the booty bagged by the Mahrattas. I heard at Moorshedabad that speculators are wont to dig into the grounds on the western bank now in ruins for treasure.

Once a large number of copper vessels (*jharis*, *dekchis*, etc.,) were dug up. People said there must have been money originally in these vessels put so far underground, since abstracted. It was not likely, supposing the castle of residence of the Seths not to be on the western bank, that they would leave so much money comparatively defenceless, in the power of the Nawab. In their castle they could defend their hoards to the utmost with their retainers. Mir Jaffer's castle appears to have stood in Amaniganj and been washed away by the river.

Affirmed in my opinion of the city proper being on the eastern bank by Gholam Hossein, the author of the *Mutakherin*, who speaking of the attack of Meer Habeesh and his Mahrattas says "they plundered the suburbs, especially the factory of Jagat Seth, to the amount of three lacs of rupees. On the arrival of Mahabat Jung he (Mir Habeesh) retreated and prevailed on Bhaskar (the Chief of the Mahrattas) to encamp at Cutwa for the rainy season, and the Nawab, satisfied with having preserved the city from plunder, deferred further operations till he could recruit his army, and strengthen the capital by new works."—Scott's *History of Bengal*, p. 327.

I had on the authority of Orme, supported by tradition, (as interpreted by me in conjunction with Orme's statement,) concluded that the city

* Anand Babu reminds me that the Mahrattas did cross and plunder Balasohar at which Alivardi hurried up to meet them where they recrossed and took up position at Kritikona.—4 Aug. 1882.

extended all the way from Amaniganj to Nasirpur if not Baluchar. I find however that Gholam Hossein speaks of Aliverdi "encamping at Amanee-Gunge, not far from the capital." So the city in those days extended no further than now, only it was in all its parts populated. Amanigunge then as now was out of town, and Aliverdi encamped in the same plain that exists there to this day. (So Holwell speaks of Ghesiti's palace at Motijheel "some distance from the city."—*Ind. Tracts*, p. 181.)

Where then was Meer Jaffer's castle therabouts to "the extreme south of the capital in the island of Cossimbazar"? It must have been north of Amanigunge, south of the Katcheri, formerly custom house, of Lal Bagh—consequently below Motijheel, though on the bank of the river.

Orme says that Serajuddaula resided at Heerahil on the western bank, and Mir Jaffer on the eastern bank in his castle. From Gholam Hossein it would appear that the regular palace was on the eastern bank where Serajuddaula returned after the affair at Plassey. This coincides with tradition which regards Hiraibil as a pleasure house, which no doubt Serajuddaula fancied.

But here is another difficulty. Motijhil in Scott's foot-note p. 353 is spoken of as "a country palace near Moorsshedabad," and so surely it is. It could not then, any more than it is now, be *in* town. I concluded therefore that Mir Jaffer's castle too was out of town somewhere near Amaniganj. The Nawab's Palace was situated in Mansurganj.—Scott p. 367. Serajuddaula's father-in-law would not stay with him there (after Plassey) but "hastened to his own house at the city of Moorsshedabad," p. 369. From this it would seem Mansurganj was itself rather out of the city proper.

The English factory stood at Cossimbazar. But they seem to have a house also in the city, (*Orme*, II. 163) unless the house referred to was the Nawab's placed at the disposal of the English Resident who visited him—not very likely. About two miles south of Cossimbazar, they had a country house at Madapur—the site I believe of the present jail or lunatic asylum.

In the Reports of the Committee of Secrecy 1772-75, p. 113, I read repeatedly of the Mootajil or Mootajil Accounts, from which it would appear that the Residency was located in the Palace of the Motijhil at that time.

Gholam Hossein speaking of Mir Jaffer's vacating Serajuddaula's palace of Mansurganj in 1787 or therabouts refers to Mansurganje in these terms—"that palace which was on the other side of the Bhagirathi, and contained lodgings enough for three European kings, is now ruined and the materials have served to build the *Kila* or *Kaala*, or palace of Moorsshedabad, where now resides his son, Mabarekuddaula, as well as an

infinity of private houses. The palace inhabited by Aliverdi Khan goes now by the name of Serajuddaula's; but it is totally ruined."—Vol. II p. 23. Gholam Hossein in the text writes that Mir Jaffer "leaving the palace of Munsoorgunge, which had always been Serajuddaula's shade, took up his residence on the other side of the water in the palace heretofore inhabited by Aliverdi Khan, and there plunged headlong into all kinds of pleasures." This was after his return from Patna, in 1758.

All the preceding statements may be harmonized thus: The city proper of Moorshedabad, that is, the busy and business quarters like the city of London, was in the middle of the last century a limited space very thickly populated about the present Chowk and to the north thereof. In a general sense the metropolis and suburbs extended on both banks of the river from Motijhil or near Amaniganj to beyond the Sehs' house, perhaps to Baluchar and Azimganj. The traces of population and habitation may be seen to this day. Both banks were so well filled that Moorshedabad might well have been said to be situate on both banks. The rulers and chiefs have so promiscuously chosen banks that at times the capital might be supposed to lie on this bank or that. I take Lalbagh to have been the southern limit of the city, because Motijhil is described as a country seat and the plains of Amaniganj were the usual encamping ground for the armies of the kingdom outside the city. At Amaniganj, on the river, stood Mir Jaffer's castle, fortified by towers and mounting cannon. It was this house against which Serajuddaula planted his guns in front, (on the opposite bank of the Bhagirathi? or from the camp of Amaniganj, where there were doubtless some ramparts, etc.)

Aliverdi Khan lived in the Intim Mahal Palace at Mansurganj, and Serajuddaula loved to resort to the palace of Hirajhil, on the western bank. Did Serajuddaula build Hirajhil, or was it built for him? The remains of the baths and pleasure grounds at all events are too characteristic to have been other than gay young prince's design. It would appear from Gholam Mahamad's statement quoted in p. 490 as if Serajuddaula lived at the Mansurganj Palace, of which Mir Jaffer took possession: "he now fixed his residence in it, as being the shade of sovereignty, and he resigned his own house in Jaalergunj to his son Miran, a young man, born to him from Shat Khanam, half-sister to Aliverdi Khan, who had taken her in his family after her father's decease."

From the following, it would appear that the palace of Mansurganj had not been in existence before Serajuddaula. After the successful war against Purnia Serajuddaula "carried them (his Purnia cousins) to his capital,

where he took up his abode in a new Palace of his, called Mansurganj, and lived in all the pride of victory and prosperity."—Mustapha's Ghulam Hossein, I. 752.

Moorshed Kuli Khan lived at Jhil Kuar Katra, near and to the west of, the mosque under whose steps he lies buried. Sinja Khan's tomb is in Dahapara. Serferaj Khan's tomb and palace were in Naginabagh near Naghtakhali, less than half a mile south of Murshid's palace. Aliverdi Khan lived near the site of the present Kila. According to Darab Ali Khan, the old seraglio of Serajuddaula stood in front of Daulin Begum's present Deori and between the Amba Khana and Darab Ali Khan's serai.* North of this site was, it is still, remembered as Serajuddaula's bazaar. That Aliverdi Khan lived near the river and the present Deori Nizamut, I infer from a tradition to the effect that when Serajuddaula on completing his Imambara on the day of consecration or inauguration, prayed in public prayer meeting at the Imambara that he might soon be dead (*shahid*) Aliverdi, who was at his ease at home hearing it immediately ran without his turban or slippers to prevent such a dire ceremony, but before he reached the Imambara his darling's prayer had been accepted of Heaven by the sign of the shaking of the *Panjar* (hands) and the silence of the officiating priest who was perched on the top of the pulpit. Serajuddaula's Imambara stood between the sites of the present Palace and the Imambara. The *gambur* or dome in the plain, near the monster gun, marks the site of the Medina house of Serajuddaula's Imambara. Where stands the present Imambara, there stood the old Quilia office, during the administration of Aliverdi and his predecessors and of Serajuddaula likewise, I believe. The public treasury of Serajuddaula would appear to have been at Mansurganj from the circumstance that he ordered payments of all arrears on his return from Plassey, in order to keep up a crowd of people about him in his hour of loneliness.

Besides the private treasury divided between Mir Jaffer, Ramchand, Navakrishna and others, as related by Mustapha, there may have been other private hoards which did not come to their knowledge. Anand Babu relates this anecdote. Mir Jaffer threatened a Lala to disclose his master's secret treasure, by indicating the sites where it was secreted. After two or three days' ineffectual cajoling and bullying, Jaffer dismissed the Lala saying that next day he should come prepared with his information, or there was no escape for him. The man went home and giving his brother a couple of *bijegs* or lists of concealed property and saying that he would never allow his

* Serajuddaula's market, or part of it used to be called Gyanpura (*গ্যানপুরা*) a name still given to the locality.

master's enemies and murderers to get at his master's wealth, throw the remaining lists into the river and then took poison and died.

On his return from Patna, Mir Jafar (during his first rule) took up his residence in Aliverdi Khan's palace. "After having thus performed the journey, [having visited the shrines of the saints of Behar, having finished eating his belly-full (as he said) of oxen-flesh, he had proceeded on his way, frequently stepping out with his friends to hunt while he amused himself with the songs and dances of a number of actresses and singers whom he carried with him on elephants] without so much as minding the affairs of State he arrived at Moorshedabad, where leaving the pleasure of Mansarganj, which had always been Seraj-ud-doula's abode, he took up his residence on the other side of the water in the palace heretofore inhabited by Aliverdi Khan then forgiven, and there he plunged headlong into all kinds of pleasure." etc., *Sciz*, II, 28. To which Mustapha adds a note on the palace of Mansarganj which has been quoted already.

Between Gholam Hossein and his translator, it is clear that Mansoorganj was on the west bank of the Bhagirathi, and the palace of Aliverdi Khan which in Mustapha's time went by the name of Serajuddaula's was on the east bank. This also is the result of my enquiries through Anand Baboo. Mr. Long and Mr. Hunter have egregiously blundered in placing Mansoorganj on the left bank near Motijhil. Indeed they actually identify Mansoorganj with Motijhil, saying that Motijhil took the name of Mansoorganj from a mighty trick that Serajuddaula played upon Aliverdi Khan by inviting him to see the new palace and confining him there until the Zamindars of Bengal ransomed their Nawab for Rs. 5,01,597.—*Calcutta Review*, Art. *Banks of the Bhagirathi* (by the Rev. Jas. Long.) Hunter's *Statistical Bengal*, Vol. IX. Moorshedabad and Pabna, p. 71.

It is noteworthy that Gholam Hossein's "other side of the water" is the eastern or left bank, and Mustapha's "other side of the Bagraty" is the western or Bar bank. Do the writers speak in relation to their respective abodes? To me the difference proves that the city proper in Gholam Hossein's time was on the right bank from which he wrote or professes supposed himself to write, while in Mustapha's the city, short of its grandears, had already concentrated itself on the left bank, where he lived or is supposed to write.

"The city formerly extended on the west bank of the river from this (Azimganj) to Serajuddaula's tomb. Du Perron describes the river as dividing the city into two parts."—*Calcutta Review*, No. XII, Art. "The Banks of the Bhagirathi," by Rev. Jas. Long, p. 445.

Here is another interesting note on the earliest Bengali punchcutter and his family from the same note-book:—

Panchanan taught his son-in-law Monohar the art of type cutting. Monohar's son still lives a competent old citizen of Serampore.

Panchanan and Monohar's original place of residence was Tribeni. Panchanan, however, usually resided at Garden Reach near his employer Colebrooke. The present head of the family, a genial old man from whom I have these particulars says the present price of punches is 3 per rupee. His father received Rs. 2/- per punch. Panchanan probably at first was paid at a higher figure. In his best working days the present man produced every day 8 to 10 punches, thus making daily some Rs. 20/- or Rs. 500/- to 600/- per month. Even now he turns out Rs. 2 or 3's worth of work.

Panchanan was wheedled out of Colebrooke's service and detained by Carey by a piece of treachery or meanness or "pious fraud" as the great Baptist might have thought. To all Carey's requests to send Panchanan Colebrooke lent a deaf ear. Carey wrote to Panchanan himself, but to no purpose, the Karmakar replying that he was not allowed to leave his place, even for a time. Then Carey resorted to artifice. He secretly prevailed upon Panchanan to leave the English officer's service by offer of higher pay and prospects. But as the man was watched if not detained as an actual prisoner, Carey wrote to Colebrooke to say that he wanted to see Panchanan much, but not to keep him beyond a few days. Colebrooke was taken in. Panchanan was allowed to visit Carey at Serampore where he was detained in the Danish Settlement not altogether without his consent, but detained he was by force and with the connivance and assistance of the Danish Government. Colebrooke kicked up a dust about it. Panchanan writing to him he was detained he moved the British Government to demand that Panchanan be delivered up to it. But the Danish Government remained firm. There were, I believe, references to Home, but in vain. Carey said that Colebrooke should not be allowed to keep a monopoly of a man who was the only artisan of the kind in all India, etc.

For the rest the family speaks in the highest terms of the character of Carey. Carey had five sons. One was an attorney, partner of Berners. Felix was a Missionary to Burma, where he had fallen in love with the daughter of the King or Prince, although he was accompanied by his wife. The affair got wind and there were preparations to murder him. He was out on a drive alone when some kind native informed him of the danger awaiting him. He never returned to his lodgings, but at once fled for his life, leaving his poor wife in the lurch.

Felix returned to Calcutta where he took up his residence in the Mission premises in Lower Circular Road. Monohar came to visit him. The porter at the gate would not allow him, and he would go in spite of the porter. There was a row and the noise attracted Felix's attention who peeped from the verandah, and seeing Monohar, motioned to him to come. The durwan was astonished—the more when he saw the cordiality with which the Sahib greeted the nigger "smith," particularly as Felix when busy, as he often was, was in the habit of refusing admittance to many respectable Europeans. Felix, who seems to have been somewhat of a vain or at least a hearty man full of animal spirits, much astounded the poor Bengali by exhibiting himself in his Burmese grand mandarin or political uniform, with naked swords, etc. Monohar begged him to doff that unusual sanguinary habit which he said disconcerted him.

Mr. Marshman junr. disliked and despised, if not hated, native Christians. The converts of Johnnegur whom Carey converted and made so much of were not allowed to come hear him, etc. Mr. Townsend is Mr. Marshman's brother-in-law, brother of his first or second wife. Mr. Marshman in his *Life and Times of Carey*, *Marshman and Ward* gives a brief account of the origin of the *Friend of India*, monthly, quarterly and weekly. A small volume of *Essays on the Hindus* reprinted from the old Quarterly Series of the *Friend of India* contains among much interesting matter bearing on the state of Hindu Society in Bengal at the end of the first quarter of the [last] century, an account of the Vernacular Press. All subsequent writers, whether in the *Calcutta Review* or elsewhere, seem to have drawn from this source. The value of Mr. Long's *List*, fragmentary and piecemeal as it is, is obvious, as a reference and guide.

S. C. SANIAL.

ERRATA IN BANDEL AND CHINSURAH CHURCH REGISTERS.

(*Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XI, Part II, No. 22, Oct.-Dec. 1915.)

As I had to leave Calcutta on sick leave in January last, while parts of my MS were still in the press, an abnormal crop of misprints was the result.

		<i>Instead of</i>	<i>Read</i>
P. 174, l. 3	from below	dependd	dependent
" 175, l. 3	from top	Satgones	Satgrew
" " l. 5	do.	who has gone	who had gone
" " l. 8	do.	has gone	had gone
" " l. 16	from below	of 5 of these boys	of 5 "Bengala" boys
" " l. 10	do.	Gasper	Gaspar
" " l. 9	do.	Fontana	Fontana
" " l. 6	do.	gotor	Solor
" " l. 4	do.	de Lamburans. <i>gdntrales</i>	de Lambuano... <i>gdntrale</i>
" 176, l. 13	from top	1894	1897
" " l. 14	do.	Sanctissiamus	Sanctissimus
" " l. 13	do.	Mialapur	Mailapur
" 177, n. 2, l. 3		in April 2	on April 2

Note 1 of P. 178 had better be recomposed thus:—

Fr. André-Marie Maynard, O. P., *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 100, referring to Fontana, *Mon. Dom.*—The family of the Orsini gave to the Order of St. Dominic several illustrious Religious, several Cardinals and a Pope, Benedict XIII. As I am particularly interested in the origin of Christianity in Burma, I note here (*ex exilant memorid*) some points gleaned from Calisto Christovio de Nasareth's *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, [Pt. I & II] 2a edigto, Lisboa, 1897.

"Frei Pedro Bonfer (*read*: Bonfer), Frei Pedro Pascacio and Frei Francisco das Chagas, [Franciscans], founded chiefly in 1557 a Mission in the Kingdom of Ava, and built 9 Churches and 7 Chapels *Op. cit.*, p. 127. In 1555, a Franciscan, evidently Pedro Bonfer, passed through Mailapur, on his way to Pegu and Siam, while the same year a Dominican set out from Mailapur for Cambodia. (Cf. J. A. Polanco, S. J., *Chronicon Soc. Jesu*, tom. VI, 723, No. 2017, in the collection of *Monumenta Historica Soc. Jesu*, Madrid.) We know also that Pedro Bonfer spent three years at Coimê (Bassein), Pegu, and that he left in 1557, discouraged at the little success he had obtained. (Cf. du Jarric, S. J., *Hist. des choses plus memorables...* Boivdeava, Vol. 2, MDCVIII, Liv. 2, Ch. 23, p. 612 or my *Bibliographical Notes on Catholic Missionaries in Burma*, Rangoon, British Burma Press, 1914. Supplement to *The Viceroy*, Febr. 1914, pp. 3—9.) du Jarric also says that between 1557 and 1600, when the Jesuits came to Burma, he had discovered no other vestiges of missionary activity in Burma. Dom Fr. Domingos Torrado, Archbishop of Goa, in a Provisão of 1612 declares—on what authority?—that the Religious of St. Dominic had been

the first preachers of the Gospel in the lands of Pegu; wherefore, so long as they reside there, the Rector (*presidente*) of the house should have the duties and title of Father of the Christians, as also a certain intervention which His Majesty is wont to give in India for the maintenance of the Catechumens. (*Miscell. Latit.* op. cit., [Pt. I & II], p. 115). After their expulsion by the English from Surat, the French Capuchins established Missions in Junk-Ceylon, Quedda, Burma and Pegu (*ibid.*, p. 128). Clement IX by his brief *Christi fideles* of 1669 annexed the Kingdom of Pegu and Golconda to the Vicariate Apostolic of Vijapur (p. 182.) Frei Antonio da Purificação was pastor of Ava and Pegu in 174 (—?). *Ibid.*, Pt. III, 1888, p. 45. He is the famous Bishop ofalicarnassus, of whom there is question *ibid.*, [Pt. I & II], 1897, p. 279. On Febr. 2, 1742, the Portuguese Government of Goa reports to the Court of Lisbon the differences that have arisen between the Franciscans (Capuchins) and a Propaganda Bishop in the Mission of Ava and Pegu (*ibid.*, p. 183.) Frei Antonio de S. Boaventura, a Franciscan, was killed in 1750, "por industria de religioso Barnabita Frances" whom the King had ordered to be killed (*ibid.*, Pt. III, 1888, p. 208, with references to *Hist. des Miss. Cathol.*, IV 424, and *Obras de Arch. Amerin.*, III. 243-4). The fact alluded to occurred probably in 1756, when a Portuguese priest was killed instead of Bishop Nerini, who was executed afterwards. In 1753 the Mission of Ava and Pegu was cut off from the Diocese of Malappur and erected into a Vicariate Apostolic (*ibid.*, Pt. I & II, p. 276.)

	<i>Instead of</i>	<i>Read</i>
P. 181, l. 12 from top	Don Ferrão	Dom Fernão
" " l. 18 from below	Continho	Conunho
" 183, l. 12 from top	dragged in Bengal	dragged from Bengal
" " n. 2, l. 3	Mission, when	Mission, where
" " n. 2, l. 7	Gregory of the Angles	Gregory of the Angola
" 184, l. 3 from bottom	all of them, flourishing.	all of them flourishing
" " n. 3, l. 2	delicated	dedicated
" 185, l. 13 from top	for the maintenance	for his maintenance
" " l. 18 do.	Fiar Joseph of Sini Maryy	Friar Joseph of St. Mary
" " n. 2	Esential	Esencial
" 186, l. 6 from bottom	Santucci...Queycon	Santucci...Queycon
" " l. 7 do.	Julias	Julião
" 187, n. 2, l. 1	1894...and place	1897...place
" " n. 2, l. 5	which you counter	which run counter
" " n. 2, l. 8	Monaldini	Monaldini
" 188, l. 3 from below	1596	1696
" " n. 1, l. 6 do.	old, according	old According
" " l. 4, do.	lest	but
" " l. 2, do.	we have	we hear
" 189, l. 6 from top	Antonio	Antonio
" " l. 7, from below	Chinese rates	Chinese rites

		<i>Instead of</i>	<i>Read</i>
P. 190,	l. 14 from top	Trigueiros	Trigueiros
" "	l. 16 do.	Combra	Coimbra
" "	l. 20 do.	Dom Jeas	Dom João
" "	l. 6 from bottom	on money but in	on money in
" "	n. 3, l. 1	Lamco	Lamex
" 191,	l. 1 from top	2nd Edição... 1894	2a Edição... 1897
" 194,	l. 9 "	disculpate	exculpate
" "	l. 16 "	beyonda	beyond
" "	n. 1, l. 6	Josep	Joseph
" "	n. 2, l. 4	1894	1897
" 195,	l. 8 from top	Juasuts	Jesuits
" "	l. 14 do.	1904	1704

H. HERRIN, S. J.



The Nesbitt Thompson Papers—1.

PREFACE.

THE Nesbitt Thompson Letters, selected from the great Hastings Collection of MSS. preserved at the British Museum, were copied some six years ago, at the cost of Col. John Shakespear, C. I. E., D. S. O., and by his generosity the copies have been placed at the disposal of the Calcutta Historical Society. The reader is referred to Sydney C. Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* for biographical information as to Nesbitt Thompson and many of the persons mentioned in the correspondence; the notes given in these pages can only be few and brief. The reader should also make use of the Index to *Bengal Past & Present*, Vols. i—viii and refer to *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. ix, pp. 74—74.

WALTER K. FIRMINING.

No. 1.

CALCUTTA,

The 4th February 1785.

Dear Sir,

I am much concerned that the letters which will be delivered to you by Col. Gordon could not overtake the *Hanfield*; but am infinitely more so to find that Mrs. Hastings' picture could not obtain a passage on board that ship. This business rested with Mr. Larkins, his friend Capt. Fraser and Mr. Zophany;¹ to them therefore I shall leave the task of accounting for its unfortunate issue, and of reconciling you to your disappointment. I am contented to know that the picture is now under the care of Capt. Abercrombie who has undertaken to convey it to England on board the *Cornwallis*.

With so little means of accurate information, as I at present possess, it would ill become [me] to speak of public measures. I saw how grossly yours were misrepresented by many even of those who attempted the fair investigation of them, that I cannot but incline to silence as to the safest preservative against the Commission of a similar error. Such a silence too is peculiarly incumbent on me as in spite of all my efforts to entertain other sentiments, I cannot help regarding Mr. Macpherson² with those of

Warren
Hastings
Papers

British
Museum

Add. MSS.
39, 158 f. 20

¹ For Zophany's portrait, see Grier: *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 422, and the same authority for notices of William Larkins.

² John Macpherson succeeded Hastings as Governor-General, see Grier, *Op. cit.*, pp. 212 et seq.

unconquerable distrust, and Mr. Stables¹ with those of extreme contempt. In justice, however, to Mr. Macpherson, I must confess that, I believe he will for the present endeavour to advance the Company's interests as far as the narrow principles of his policy, and his very limited abilities will enable him, because it is on this conduct alone that he can build his future power of making them absolutely subservient to his own purposes. As far as this principle can operate I doubt not that he will be true to you; but from my soul I believe not a jot further. If you are induced to support him after your arrival in England for only half a year, all his purposes with respect to you will be answered, for, to use his favorite phrase, you will have committed yourself. He will then be at liberty to build his own reputation on the ruin of yours, and though he before failed in this attempt, partly because he undertook it too soon, you are now to recollect that you have quitted the field, and have consequently given to him advantages which he did not then possess. His reputation thus raised on this bad eminence will perhaps if any thing can confirm him in the Government; and when that is done, I am sure I need not tell you that, aided by the honest Councils of his upright cousin Fingal² he will know how to apply the ample resources with which his office will furnish him for perpetuating his possession of it. If you can have a doubt of this, I would refer you only to the advice which he presumed to give even to you, and to the letters which you have reced. from Mr. James Macpherson. All this reasoning may be, and I hope it is, erroneous, but it forces itself upon me with a conviction which I cannot resist. It may be said too perhaps that the friendship to which, I own, he apparently invites me, should restrain me from the use of such language; but I am not bound by a friendship which far from seeking, I would not even if it were sincere accept, for I know it would impose on me obligations incompatible with those more sacred ties by which I am bound to truth and you.

Though I am well aware you will not readily adopt apprehensions which I confess to be founded in prejudice, yet I hope you will not be so secure as to be unguarded against this representation. Maxwell and several other gentlemen of his family loudly boast of the immense savings made by Mr. Macpherson, and of their instant and wonderful effect upon the public credit. As an instance of the first, they say that in the care establishment of the Governor-General there has been an annual savings of at least 2 lacks and a half of rupees, generously and justly no doubt

¹ John Stables originally came to India in military employ. Appointed to succeed Francis as a Member of Council, took his seat Nov. 11th. 1782.

² Fingal, i.e., James Macpherson, a cousin of Sir John. The alleged Translator of the Ossianic poems. See Grant, *Op. cit.*, p. 347, and article in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

reckoning upon the reduction of Polhill's Corps:—and as an unanswerable proof of the latter, they alledge that the discount on the Treasury Orders have fallen from 14 to 6 and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The fact is true, but the reasoning from it is to the last degree fallacious. The fall of discount arises not from Mr. Macpherson's measures but from yours; from *your* retrenchments, and still more from *your* revisions for the sale of the opium. The payments are now due, and the paper consequently for making them is eagerly sought. As soon as the payments are completed, the discount will rise again, and will continue to do so till the more slow but general and certain principle of economy which you imparted to the Government before you left it can fully operate. I understand that all the mighty savings of Mr. M— and all the great things which he has done are displayed in a statement made by Alexander Croftes* and Larkins deny any knowledge of it.

Many of your native friends continue to visit me. But none with more frequency nor from purer motives of friendship towards you than Bissamber Pandit. I did not like the man when you were here, but I am convinced I did him injustice. I never see him but that he talks of you with tears either of gratitude, regret or joy. When I told him of Mrs. Hastings' reception, the complete defeat of all your enemies, and the high honors which awaited you, he convinced me that his fatness had not reached his heart, for in its undissembled gladness he leaped almost as high as the ceiling and with the activity of an antelope.

The Mowlavy of the Muddrissa too calls on me much oftener than he did on yourself. He tells me that he visits me as he would your tomb, and, without intending it, makes me very proud. I regret only that I am at best but your *cenotaph*. An *empty* structure existing indeed to preserve your memory, but unblessed with the actual possession of that which gives me honor.

I send you letters from some of your native dependants which I hope little Jonathan will be at your elbow to translate. He is one of the very few then whom I am sorry I did not know sooner. I cannot, however, write to him, for between my attendance at Court, the disposal of your effects, and the necessity, I am under of instructing for the first time my own Attorneys, I have less time to spare even than when you were here.

In your inner room, I found a little green square box, containing several bottles of attah, all closed either with your seal or sand's. Presuming that you intended to have taken this box with you I have sent it by Capt. Abercrombie, who will likewise have the charge of this letter, and is just going.

* Charles Croftes. See below "Leaves from the Editor's Note-book."

Whilst I have been writing Gunga Govind Sing has called on me in much consternation to tell me that Mr. Macpherson has for his own information referred the investigation of the charges against Gihwolaun Ashruff to James Grant, the Philosopher, James Grant the—, and Wilkins; of both the latter Gunga is much afraid. I am now going to discover the means if possible of comforting him.

With the utmost gratitude, esteem and attachment.

I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and most obedt. faithful servant,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 2.

CALCUTTA,

The 9th February 1786.

Dear & Hon'd. Sir,

Add. MSS.
29, 168, f. 52

It is now eight at night, and after a day of business in town, I was preparing to return to Alipoor with an intention of devoting to-morrow to the sacred purpose of writing to you, when I met White who told me that the packet would certainly close this evening: I regretted too sincerely that the *King George* should sail without a letter from me to hazard a second disappointment of the same nature; I therefore got out of my buggy and am now writing in Wroughton's office. Your old white horse, upon whom length of years has made no other impression than that of robbing him of a few of his teeth, shook his ears in apparent disapprobation of the delay. He is a wonderfully fine old fellow, and is as active as ever. To have done with the subject of horses, I should tell you that beauty is no more. In addition to the cutaneous disorder which had afflicted him long before your departure and which neither medicine or regimen could remove he was lately attacked with a dreadful disorder in his side—an abscess formed from his flank to his shoulder and was so painful as to prevent his laying down for a fortnight. After a most anxious attention to him, and much consultation with Turner* and twenty others upon the subject, I formed the resolution of releasing him from all his pains at once. He was buried with funeral honors to the eastward of the high house and a tree planted over his grave. I dare yet indulge the hope that his honored mistress may one time or other set beneath its shade, and manifest something of her own excellencies by shedding a tear to the grateful remembrance of his. I never pass a morning at Alipoor

* Samuel Turner, the well known traveller in Tibet, commanded the Body-guard. See Hudson's *History of the Viceroy's Body-guard*.

without feeding Soleymann and the gray buggy horse with bread—the former, if ever I return to England, shall certainly be my companion, however old. Trifling as this would appear to everybody else—to *you* and to *your Lady*, I don't apologize for a word of it.

Every event that has the smallest degree of relation to your timely resignation of this Government, proves the wisdom of the act. Your presence my dear Sir, like that of the sun to use an eastern simile is marked by the blessings it diffuses. In the late Resolutions of the Directors for the payment of their Indian debts in England, we trace with certainty the benign the saving influence of your Councils. It has saved the Company; for I do not hesitate to declare that public credit was here at its very last gasp. The first operation of that violent portion which the doctors had forced down its throat, and for the effects of which they were waiting with the confident composure of infallibility would have been convulsions and death. For not to question any one of the learned authorities, which might perhaps be quoted in favor of the prescription, the devil of it was, that the patient was too much exhausted to abide its operation.

All men saw except those who were blinded by the pride of speculation or by the quixotism of fancied patriotism, that the treasury was absolutely shut against all ranks of men except the army—and that against those too it would have been shut, but that they had swords in their hands. The rare and wonder-working expedient for increasing the value of paper, was simply to increase its quantity. They talked and only talked of paying off the *old* paper for they had not provided a rupee for the purpose—whilst the *new* was to be multiplied beyond all former example. It was to be forced upon people who had never before received it—upon old women shut up within the walls of a seraglio, who could not even give it the authentication which was necessary for its negotiation. I need not tell you how severely it would have operated upon the whole house of Jaffur Ally Khaun and all its numerous dependants. Paper in their hands would certainly not have been so negotiable as in the hands of others, and the receipt and transfer of it would beyond all description have multiplied the impositions to which they are already subject. The orders from the Court of Directors—if they are not permitted totally to abrogate the late Regulations of this Government, should at least produce some modification of them and chiefly in favor of the family at Moorshedabad. I have, however, no such hopes—for Marphert, son boasts of the measure as a concealed, but effectual and permanent reduction of their stipends, and Larkins whether he possesses or not the wisdom and virtue of Cato certainly possesses all his inflexibility and obduracy.

To temper policy with humanity and justice to meliorate its profoundest

plans by a general spirit of benevolence requires an expanse of heart an extent of capacity that is the lot of few men. By most people here the subject of the enclosed letters from the Beegum would be considered as totally unworthy of regard—they would perhaps be unintelligible. To you I send them in full conviction that the rights which they contend for will not be overlooked, and that you will be able to provide for their sacred observance without any injury to the interest of the public.

The public are disposed to consider and they should not be undeceived the late Resolutions of the Court of Directors as a fair tender to them of the payment of all their present debt. I know that in fact it is not so—for according to the proffered rate of exchange of 1s. 8d. the Current Rupee compared with ye usual rate of exchange of 2s. the Current Rupee one-sixth of the debt is actually withheld. I know too that the offer is otherwise fallacious, for that it cannot possibly operate to a greater amount than that of the *unremitted* property of Europeans, which certainly does not amount to nearly 6 crores.

But the natives are not injured, for most of them purchased the paper at 30 per cent. discount and they will now be able to sell it at 25 per cent. discount. Finding so advantageous a sale for Pt. of their paper they will set an additional value on the remainder, upheld by the confidence delusive or not, that the Company have fairly offered to pay their debts, and that they have not offered what they are not able to perform. This confidence so beneficial in its probable effects will be lasting if the Board modify their late regulations and make the usual issues from their Treasury; it will be totally destroyed if those issues are stopped, for madness itself can never think that the Company really possess the desire and the ability to pay their existing debts whilst by an act of severity and injustice they are contracting new ones. One of our Jurymen is again sick—I see no end to this cursed business except one of them should die or run away—one or other of which Gopee Nazir and his worthy Compeer will probably effect. For my sentiments of this business I refer you to the enclosed paper which I began in hopes that it might overtake the *King George*, and relinquished upon a friend coming in and assuring me that it could not. My sentiments are unaltered, though if I had now time to write upon the subject I should perhaps express them in more dispassionate terms—for a combination of events which you could not control has I fear condemned you to the support of Mr. M—.

Palmer is dissatisfied both with Mr. Macpherson and Harper. He once conceived the wish of making if possible a new Resident. The attempt was dangerous whilst such men as Petrie and Murray were on the spot to have filled the office. He has likewise endeavoured to engage the General

in the support of the Nabob in a visit to his country and in the general patronage of his interests and concerns. This the Governor has much dreaded. To oppose effectually the attempt he has I believe associated himself with Stewart—giving to him the sole management of the revenue of the Province, and reserving to himself the exclusive patronage of Oud and its Dependencies.

In an arrangement which had the benefit of Gordon for its principal object, and in which Davies insisted on and secured his own rights I who was happily placed between them both obtained promotion without a single effort. After an absence of nine months I went to thank Macpherson for this act of justice. He distressed me by the priority of audience with which he distinguished me, and by its length. He told me that he had invariably found in *your* friends stronger support and truer attachment than in his own. He detailed to me all the instances of firmness decision and plain dealing by which he had maintained himself in his Government since he first acceded to it—assuring me that it was by the sole influence of these manly qualities that he had defeated the arts and dangerous designs of Lord Macartney. He regretted with the benignity of a saint the wild attempts of that weak but well intentioned man Major Palmer*—who, says he, in opposing me opposes all the measures of Mr. Hastings—which at Lucknow in particular it has been my invariable object to maintain and pursue. He wished that I could put myself near the General and counteract the designs of those who would induce him to interfere in the affairs of Oud. I valued too much my own ease, independence and reputation to sacrifice them to the intrigues of any member of the present Government—from all of whom I purposely keep myself aloof—to you I communicate this conversation but to no one else—for I have never sought nor has any person a right to load me with a confidence, which may in the slightest degree diminish or counteract *that* with which you honored me and which it is my utmost happiness to possess. I have much more to say but have not time. It is absolutely necessary for the credit and happiness of G. G. Sing, that he should retire. We shall have much difficulty in effecting his discharge—for though they are not generous enough to give him proper encouragement and support, they too well know his worth to accept his resignation. They think him made of gold and are all unwilling to lose him before they have melted him. This design (I mean of his resignation) no other European I believe yet knows except myself. Remember me most gratefully to Mrs. Hastings.

Let her know that by John Palmer who went in the *King George I*

* *i.e.*, William Palmer. From 1777 to 1784, Military Secretary to the Governor. See Grier, *Op. cit.*, p. p. 80-81.

sent her a piece of worked muslin and some small pearls—and that by the *Eagle* Packet, I sent her another piece of worked muslin under the charge of Mr. Baxter, a shopkeeper.

Believe me, dear Sir,
Your faithful servant,
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 3.

TO MRS. HASTINGS.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 25th February 1785

Dear & Hand Madam.

ADD. MSS.
29,168, f. 119

I received the favor of your letter, dated the 14th September 1784, about two hours ago. Your orders shall be most faithfully and zealously attended to. The moment, I received your letter, I sent for Munney Begum's Vakeel, who has just now left me. I acquainted him with the orders I had received from you, and asked him to tell me honestly whether he believed that the Begum would make good her engagements. He assured me that she would the moment her reduced salary was restored to her. We shall write to her to-morrow on the subject, and shall leave no steps unattempted to bring this business to a speedy and favorable conclusion. Much caution and secrecy, however, will be necessary in the conduct of it; not only from the difficulties which attend every negotiation with a person in her situation, but from the spirit of persecution and malicious enquiry which at present prevails throughout the settlement. A proof of which you will find in the letter which I have just now written to Mr. Hastings, and to which I take the liberty of referring you for want of time to write another on the same subject—the *Mansfield* is dispatched and I am apprehensive that this packet may not overtake her.

Mr. Hastings on his departure among the other proofs of his regard for me was pleased to honor me with the charge of all your favorites. He could not have conferred on me a trust which I should have accepted with more pride or pleasure. Believe me, dear Madam, I will endeavour to deserve it. For I do not know a lady in the world, to whom I owe so much gratitude, or for whom I have so great an esteem. I beg you will pardon the liberty I take in telling you so, and believe that I should not presume to speak so plainly were not the thickness of the whole globe between us. I request you will be so obliging as to make my compliments to Mrs. Motie, and with the utmost gratitude and respect

I have the honor to be,
Dear Madam,
Your most obliged and most obedt. humble servant,
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 4.

FORT WILLIAM,

The 25th February 1785

Dear Sir,

The Company's packet containing Mr. Pitt's Bill and sent by way of Bussora was received about an hour ago from Bombay. There is a bare possibility that a letter may yet overtake the *Manxfield*, and in that hope I write. First, let me congratulate you, which I do from my soul, upon the re-establishment of Mrs. Hastings' health, and not only you but all my countrymen upon the estimation in which they hold her character, for surely such an act of justice is as honorable to them as to her. As to yourself, my dear Sir, it is with inexpressible pleasure I find that though all your friends in England wished you to stay here another year, they have taken no steps which could make it your duty to do so; and that you return to their undiminished esteem; and, I flatter myself, to the possession of those honors which cannot but be pleasing even to exalted minds when they are confessedly the reward of virtue.

Add: MSS.
49.108, f. 118.

To lessen the size of his packet Major Scott had sent Mrs. Hastings' letter in sheets with no other cover than that which enclosed his own. Larkins and I have sealed it up, and (No. 1) return it. Seeing, however, a piece of muslin, we looked for the directions concerning it, and found them in the last sheet. We have taken a copy of them and of the instructions which immediately precede and follow it, and shall carefully attend to them all.

I wish I could with any degree of certainty explain to you the real motives or tendency of Mr. Macpherson's measures, since your departure. You perhaps foresaw them all—to me they were unexpected and surprising; almost the first of his public acts was the reduction of half Turner's Corps, and the whole of Polhillia. The first I thought was totally incompatible with the assurances which he had given to Turner, and the second with those which you had given to the Prince. The latter act indeed to my mind makes a mockery of all that's serious in the compacts and negotiations between state and state. Whilst Anderson was earnestly contending with Sindia on the part of our Government that the Prince should not proceed to the presence of his father unless attended by a particular corps, the Government itself almost forgetting that there was such a man as the Prince, without any previous intimation or provision, and as a matter of mere domestic regulation, annihilate the corps, and leave him disgraced and unprotected to the mercy of those who may be disposed to shew him any. Such is the light in which this measure appears to me unacquainted as

I am with those qualifications which may possibly have accompanied it. It is I am well aware attended with a considerable saving to the Company, and *that* I know will reconcile the just and liberal minds of our rulers to any act. It will make the reduction of Eaton's and Hogan's Corps exalted virtues.

Gunga Govind Sing has already become the object of persecution. The instigators of it are Nohkissen, Ram Chunder Sein, Suddeer-u-Dein, Ram Rutton, Gopee Nazir and others. One of the means to which they have had recourse for this purpose is the revival of the charges against Ghwolam Ashruff. This man you may recollect was apprehended about two years ago on a suspicion of forgery. In the course of his examination he attempted to criminate Praun Kishun, but failed. He was committed to the Fort for further trial, and lay there unnoticed till about the time of your departure. You then moved that he should be sent to Mohummud Rezza Khan, but the other members withheld their opinion and consequently nothing was done. It is now conceived that Ghwolam Ashruff may still be made the instrument of injuring Gunga Govind Sing, and in that hope his enemies have contrived to bring the business before the Board—the Board have referred it to Sir Jno. Day, and he is determined to recommend the prosecution of Ghwolam Ashruff in ye. Supreme Court—no doubt expecting that in the investigation of his guilt, that of Praun Kishun will be established. Mr. Stables rejoices heartily though secretly in his imagined triumph, and thinks he has the Dewan upon the hip. Macpherson, whose tongue drops honey upon this as upon every other occasion, has no heart, nor perhaps inclination to oppose the mischief. They are, however, all deceived. Gunga Govind Sing I am convinced has nothing to apprehend from the trial of Ghwolam Ashruff and it will redound to his own credit, and the confusion of his enemies. I have frequently conversed upon the subject with Mr. Hyde, who in the sincerity of his attachment to you, as in all his other acts proves the goodness of his character.

Cowper, I am glad to tell you, has conducted himself with great honor and moderation in the committee, and is upon principle the firmest of all Gunga Govind's friends. He says he found him in office and will maintain him in it, as long as he performs its duties.

I have not heard of or from Palmer since your departure.

I enclose you the copies of two letters from Jas. Anderson. The originals I delivered to Mr. Macpherson. I am not yet without my expectations that Sir Jno. Day may be prevailed on to alter his opinion with respect to the trial of Ghwolam Ashruff—for it is certainly not well grounded. The crime deserves punishment; but will not I am convinced receive it from any of the English laws now in force against forgery. Some of the Judges are even of opinion that the statutes do not extend to this country

—and if they do, there is in none of them to be found a description of the particular offence with which Ghwalam Ashruff stands charged. A trial therefore in your Supreme Court will liberate Ghwalam Ashruff who is guilty, and serve only to appall Praun Kishun who is free. Sir Jno. Day ought to advise the Board to order Col. Hampton to send the prisoner to your Fauzdarry, and to signify in the return to the Habeas Corpus that he has done so in obedience to the orders of the Board. This you know under the late act would be a full justification of Col. Hampton, and would obviate much future contention. I enclose you No. 5—a string of charges against Gunga Govind which has been delivered to Mr. Macpherson in the name of Ghwalam Ashruff. The Persian is supposed to have been written by Sudder-u-Dein, the English translation by Ram Rutton. It is an artful composition, and in the conclusion of several of it's periods puts me in mind of the *Delenda est Carthago*. Gunga Govind tells me with much pleasantry that Mr. Macpherson by way of comforting him desired him to be of good cheer—for that he should not be hung.

One of the aligator, pear trees is dead. The horses are all well; so are the birds, and Seleina. They contribute more than any thing that is now left in Bengal to my happiness—you may be sure therefore that I shall not neglect them.

I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and grateful servant,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

Mrs. Motte's letter was received exactly as it is returned. Not a word of it has been read except the direction for that was sufficient to announce the writer and make it sacred.

No. 2.—No one here has seen except Larkins and myself.

No. 5.

ST. HELENA,

The 20th April 1785.

My dear Thompson,

I beg your honor of you to introduce the young gentleman who will be your bearer of this to my friends and yours;—to Mr. MacPherson of course. He is the son of Mr. Bassett one of your principal inhabitants of this place, and Mr. Cornuëlle at whose instance I give you this trouble, gives him an extraordinary good charge.

Yours affectionately,

W. HASTINGS.

Add. MSS.
29, 168, f. 266.

The Massacre of Jiddah, 1727.

THE following documents belonging to the Orme Collection at the India Office, Record Department, were copied for the late Dr. C. R. Wilson. As so many historical Bengal names are mentioned, I think the papers are worth placing on permanent record in *Bengal Past and Present*.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

No. 1.

September the 11th 1727.

The Relation given by the people of Ally Rajah's Ship who arrived at Cannanore this Evening in Forty two days from Juddah leaving it the 30th of July 1727.

On their arrivall at Juddah the 7th of Aprill, they found their Ship *Margarett* belonging to Robert Adams Esqr. and in Twenty days after arrived the *Prince George* from Bengall. The *Margarett* had done all her business the beginning of June, embarkt such Goods as were not Saleable and all the money, the Ship went a little way out and was in a readiness to Saile, Mr. Hill etca. on an invitation from Messrs. Dalgleish and Frankland went ashore purposing to take their leave of them. At about Noon, the time of dining there run a Report that two Lascarrs had been Murdered on board the Ships, and were found Floating: another such like Occasion had been Spread some days before of our killing the Lascarrs, and on Complaint made to the Governour and Codgee, they said they wanted proof to do Justice, and when the aforesaid Lascarrs were carried to the Codgee*, the Governour sent to him to examine Strictly how this hapned, and let him know what ought to be done, the former therefore sent for all the Gentlemen, who being at Dinner did not go, and a person told the Codgee they Slighted the Message and Refused coming to him. Of this he gave immediate Notice to the Governour declaring (as his Opinion) that death deserved death and orders were directly given to Execute it, which the Turks did in the most Cruel manner on the Gentlemen as they were altogether in the House of Capt. Dalgleish to the Number of Six or Seven Whites and two black, plundering all they found Benjamin Adams concealed himself for about two hours, and then run naked into the Streets, where a Turk stopt him, gave him his own Coat, and Sent him on board the Ship; The Governour of

* i.e., the Kazi—Judge.

Juddah after committing these Barbarities and having secured the Ships with three or four hundred Turks, gave Notice thereof to the Principall Man at Mecha, who repaired forthwith to the Governour blamed his proceedings. And it appearing that about Forty thousand Dollars had been taken from the House, he ordered full Restitution to be made, an account taken in the Presence of three Surut Nocquedah's,† with Ally Rajah's the Governour's people and some of the Merchants from the shore, and then delivered every thing in full to the persons of each Ship respectively taking Receipts of their having the whole and then withdrew the Turks after being aboard eight days, but forbid our people to Stirr 'till the Grand Seignieur's pleasure was known to whom he had wrote for orders.

The money of each Ship was kept on board and the Chests sealed by the Governour's people; 'Tis Said the *Prince George* had about one Hundred and eighty thousand Dollars, and the *Margarett* Eighty thousand Do. exclusive of some Goods not disposed of. The Lascars went all away, so that the *Prince George* has not above Thirty Men, and the *Margarett* Sixteen. A Small time after, a Long boat from the latter being observed to Sound the Port, the Governour Suspecting they might attempt going away, brought all their Sails ashore to prevent them, and forbid any boats going to each other, but they might go ashore and come off as they pleased.

Mahmud Ally on his return from the Hodges endeavoured to gett the Ships released, but the principall Man from Mecha, assured him, he could not answer it as he had wrote to the Grand Seignieur, nor indeed was he certain (as the principall men were destroyed) if those remaining had Skill or honesty enough to Carry them to their Owners, and if they miscarried the blame would be laid on him, and for which he might be Lyable to Suffer Death. The above is the best Account we could gett having no Letters from any of our people at Juddah 'tis probable, it may not be exact in every Circumstance, but the Tradgicall part We think cannot be doubted.

No. 2.

September the 13th 1727.

The Serwan of Ally Rajahs Juddah Ship coming here gives the following relation of what hapned to the Ships *Prince George* and *Margarett*, and of the Murdering the Gentlemen belonging thereto; Vist.

That the Barbarity was Committed on Tuesday the 6th June about noon, by the Mobb and Secilfs people that was in the Town of Juddah without orders of any one, for the Codgee having Sent for the Engllah, and they Refusing to come at his Summons, he was heard to Say what shall I do with

† Nakhedars—customs officials.

these people, who kill and do as they please, and will not come to me when sent for; upon which they Run to the House, and told our people they must either turn their Religion or dye, and then begun their Cruelty; of which the Bashaw or Governour having Notice, came in person to the House, Dispersed the Mobb and ordered people on board to take Care of the Ships, and published orders that every thing should be restored, or he would punish those who should detain and accordingly did chastize Severall and intended to have sent the Ships away, but the Seriff of Mecha came within eight or Ten days, who has half the Customs of the Port and advised the Bashaw not to Suffer the Ships to Sail till they had both wrote the Grand Seignieur, to know his pleasure he not having Power to Stop or release at his Will, without hazarding his head, and 'twas reported the Bashaw intended to write the Governours of Bombay and Bengall of what had hapned, that they might appoiat proper people to receive the Ships.

No. 3.

Copy of a Letter Superscribed at Mocha. Copy of a letter to Constantinople to be opened by the English Gentlemen.

Honoble Sir,

I was employed by licence of the Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indias, as Master of the Ship *Margarett* belonging to Robert Adams Esqr Chief of Tellicherry for the East India Company and Mr. Thomas Hill supra cargo to this port of Juddah, We arrived here the 10th of March with a proper Cargo from Bengall for this place, We were very well received by the Bashaw and Zeriff and Merchants and all encouragement of Trade granted us we could expect, at our first coming here, We took a House for the more Conveniency of our Affairs, where we lived without any Molestation, all the time our being here and untill all our Goods were disposed off to our Satisfaction, And by the first Instant most of our Treasure was on board and every thing ready to Saile, Mr. Hill sent every thing on board from his own House and Stayed with Messrs. Frankland and Dalgleish Supra Cargoes of the *Prince George* at their Lodgings, where unfortunately on the 6th Instant Mr. Thomas Hill Supra Cargo Mr. William Morcom Purser and Edmund Moriarty Gunner all belonging to Ship *Margarett* were murdered by the Mobb, as to the particulars as I was on board I refer your Lordship to Mr. Fullerton who was present when the Misfortune hapned and Miraculously escaped with life, when the Accident hapned Mr. Hill had by him about Ten thousand Juddah Dollars in Venetian Gold which was all carried away by the Mobb, but by the good conduct and diligence of Bekir Bashaw of this place have recovered and received about half what was lost, and the Bashaw assures

me he'll recover what is wanting and Dispatch the Ship in all due time to serve her passage to the Mallabar Coast, The Insurrection was so sudden that the Murder was comitted before the Bashaw had the least Notice of it, and I believe was not in his power to prevent it, the whole Affair was Transacted and over in less than half an hour, and by all his proceedings I have reason to believe the Bashaw was Very Sorry for what hapned.....I am now to acquaint your Lordship the reason the Mobb pretend for their proceedings, first of all 'tis necessary to know, that the Ships in India belonging to the English are manned with the Natives, Some Moors and Some Portuguese Christians (the Officers always Europeans) the whole complement of Men belonging to the *Margarett* was about Eighty five, Fifty of which were Moors with a proper Officer, who always behaved themselves Very well aboard, and we used them Civilly, after our Arrivall here they hapned to be Sickly and at different times five or six of them died & as they were Musselmen the rest buried them after their own manner and being Strangers and not acquainted with the place, instead of Carrying them ashore (as usual) Buried them upon Small Islands which are sometimes overflown, & as I suppose their graves not being Very deep, the Water washed away the Sand & discovered some of the Dead bodies to the Fishermen that came that way, they immediately went ashore and Noised it about Town, that the English murdered the Musselmen on board their Ships, and sent them ashore on desolate Islands where they lay unburied, Complaint was made to the Bashaw, who told them he would enquire about it, and accordingly sent for the Moor Officers and some other people aboard who told them that all the Musselmen on board the *Margarett* had always been used Very well, and that the people who were Dead died a Naturall death, and that they were buried with all the Ceremony they were Masters of, and as well as the Nature of the Ground would permitt, the Bashaw told them if any died on board for the future they Must send them ashore to be buried.

It hapned that the day Mr. Hill designed to come on board in order to sail, in the morning one of the Moor men died, and According to the Bashaws order we sent him ashore to be buried, as soon as the Corps was landed the Mobb got about it and every man ready to give his Judgement, some said his neck was broke others his Legs and Arms, others that his Eyes were put out & in-generall all agreed that he was murdered, away they carry the dead body to the Bashaw for Justice, and not receiving a Sattisfactory answer, nothing would serve them but their own revenge, and so they began the Massacre as beforementioned, this is matter of Fact and all I know of the Affair, which I thought to acquaint your Lordship of.

JIDDAH,
June the 22nd 1727.

} I am with the greatest respect
Your Lordships most obedient Humble Servant,
CHA: GRAY.

No. 4.

Translate of a letter from Abu Beeker Bashaw of Juddah Addressed to the English Chief at Mocha.

Sir,

I write this Letter to inform you what has hapned to the English at my port of Juddah, which the like was never before, in Mr. Hill's Ship they killed one of their Lascars who was a Musselman and their Servant and burnt out his Eyes, and brought him ashore into the City, not being afraid of the Government, or ashamed of the Action, (Such things are not Suffered among Musselmén, and by their own fault were the Occasion of the Misfortune which followed and no ways proceeded from me) which, when the Musselmén saw they rose up in Arms without my Consent or knowledge, for they were not my Soldiers but the Mobb, and went to the Houses of the Captains of both Ships and killed them, Mr. Frankland and a Purser, and Carried away what Goods they found in their Houses, as Soon as I heard of it, I sent my Officers to take care of them, but before they came, the Mobb had taken almost everything away & Killed the people all in less than half an hour. What Goods and money were Stolen away I will take Care to get back again, likewise the ready money which was Sixty one Thousand Dollars some Gold, Baftas* and other Goods which I have with Mr Fullerton the Purser taken an Account of, I have recovered a great deal and there is but little remaining. I will take Care that nothing is lost, the goods and money that I have recovered had delivered to Captain Grey and Mr Fullerton Purser to Captain Dalgleish, but afterwards thought proper to keep them at my own house being apprehensive they were not Safe at the English House, and shall keep them till I hear from you to deliver them to your Attorney I desire you will favour me with an Answer.

JUDDAH,

June the 22nd 1727.

I am &c.

CHIA : GRAY.

No. 5.

Mr. Dickenson's answer to the foregoing.

I received your Letter, and 'tis with a great deal of Sorrow and Concern that I read the Tradgicall Account you give of the Murder of so many English Gentlemen at your Port in so Barbarous and Cruel manner, to whom on their Arrivall you promised Protection, being at the time when both our Nations are at Peace and Amity, no man alive can ever believe the truth of what you assert for your peoples committing this cruel Action, I am sure the English are never guilty of such barbaritys as you mention in your Letter but admitting they were, they would never be so foolhardy as to send them

* A kind of Cabco.

ashore in the Musselman Country to be exposed to Publick View, Tis Certain that what your Soldiers alledge, and the Excuse you make for it, has not the least Glimpse of Probability, It must have been a premeditated thing contrived by some treacherous and ill designing Men who Sett the people on to do an unheard of Piece of Villany, your own Letter confesses that the pretence was only on Mr. Hill's Ship, what reason could they give for murdering Captain Dalgleish, Mr. Frankland &c. they were people of Fashion and great Men, that deserved not such treatment at the Grand Seignours Port, and though you return their Effects what Satisfaction can you make for the lives of so many Men, I shall take care to lett the King of Great Britain be informed of this Barbarous Massacre, he I doubt not will find a means to get Satisfaction for the loss of so many of his Subjects, I received with yours a Letter from Captain Gray of Mr. Hill's Ship with a Relation of the whole affair, he does not lay the blame on you but says it was done in so sudden a manner that he believes you know nothing of it, 'till it was over, I therefore hope you will do us Justice and find out the Murderers that they may receive the punishment according to the heinousness of their Crime, I hope before this you have recovered all their Effects, and will take Care that nothing is lost which [I] desire you to deliver to Captain Gray and Mr. Fullerton, who I know to be Very good Men and I appoint them Attorneys to receive every thing that belongs to the Ships, and who I expect you will protect from further insults and take Care to see them and all their Effects Safely on board, and permitt the Ships to come away as soon as you receive this that they may Save the Monsoon and not loose their passage by being detained too long.

Mocha, }
July the 11th 1727.

I am &c.,
 FRAS. DICKINSON.

No. 6.

An Account of the Massacre of Mr. Thomas Hill, Mr. Robert Frankland &c., at Juddah in June or July, 1727. By Mr. Bonnell at Surat.

Some of the Lascarrs belonging to Mr. Adam's Ship *Margaret* his Brother Mr. Thomas Hill being Supra Cargoe, and Captain Gray Commander asked leave of Mr. Hill to stay and go to Hudgi: he having finished his affairs, and near Sailing from thence donoyd them; on which they complained to the Bashaw, who enquiring the Cause thereof Sent them on board ship again Mr. Hill refusing to let them stay.

Out of the said Ship Severall of the Lascarrs dyed and the Serang buried them on the Small Sand on the road, which when [it] was known

Occasioned a Rumour that the Captain had beat them, of which they dyed, and buried them there to keep it private, complaint thereof was made to the Bashaw, who sent for the Serang and asked him way he buried the Lascarr there, and not on the shore, he replied they were poor, and could not be at the charge to bury them ashore, however, the Bashaw ordered, if any more dyed he should bring them ashore and bury them.

On the day Mr. Hill intended to go on board and Saile one of his Lascarrs dyed, and they carryed him ashore to bury him, when the Corps was landed, the Mobb rose, and said the English had Murdered him, and they lifted up the Sheet that Covered the Corps and said He had been beat on the head, then they carryed the Corps to the Bashaw's house complaining that the English had killed him, the Bashaw made enquiry into the matter, and found that their Complaint was false and groundless, but instead of calmly and mildly reproving the Mobb was very angry with them, and drove them away from him in a Passion, this enraged the Mobb who took up the Dead Corps, resolving to carry it to Mr. Hill who was at Mr. Frankland's House at dinner taking his leave, intending after dinner to go on board and Saile, as the Mobb carryed the Corps along, they mett Severall of the Soldiers, that come down to guard the Roads, that the Merchants might not be molested by the Bandoos (alias wild Arabs Robbers) who asked what was the matter the mobb replied the Englishmen had killed a Musselman of which they complained to the Bashaw who rejected their Complaint, and took the part of the English Coffeers against them, this so incensed the Soldiers, that they in great numbers Joyned the Mobb immediately and went along with them with the Corps to Mr. Frankland's house. Mr. Frankland, Mr. Hill &c. Gentlemen being at dinner heard a great Noise at the door to know the meaning of such a disturbance as they opened the door the Mobb rushed in and killed the two Gentlemen at the door, and ran up stairs and fell upon the rest of Gentlemen Mr. Frankland jumped down and in the fall broke his thigh, then they immediately killed him, they also killed Captain Dalgleish and four or five more, but Mr. Fullerton and the Linguister hid themselves, and escaped, Mr. Hill was not killed outright, but was wounded in many places, Surviving two or three days after the Massacre was over the Soldiers Mobb &c. plundered the house, and took away all the money Goods &c. in an Instant.

As soon as the Bashaw heard thereof he sent out his guards to seize all those that had robbed and plundered the house, he took up about Two hundred persons and imprisoned them, and made them deliver back what they stole from the English, Severall of them being obstinate and refusing to refund, the Bashaw ordered them to be pinched with hot Irons which forced them to Comply, by this means he recovered most of the Goods, and

money. Twenty five or Thirty bags money were wanting which the Bashaw declared he would make good.

After the uproar was over the Bashaw sent on board both Ships and ordered their Sails to be carryed ashore, and what goods and money was in each ship, he ordered to be locked up Secure in the Ships, and his, and his Officers Seals, were put on the Locks also all the money and Goods, that the Bashaw recovered he put into the Secure Warehouse sealed with his and his Officer's seals, declaring he could not answer the delivery of the money and Goods to any of the Gentlemen serving at Juddah the Chief Merchants being killed, he declared to Mr. Fullerton that whomsoever the President of Bengall, and Mr. Adams Chief of Tellicherry shall order to receive the money and goods remaining their order punctually he Complied with.

Mr. Hill being three days expiring under his wounds Benjamin Adams son to Mr. Robert Adams Chief of Tellicherry went ashore to See Mr. Hill, brother in Law to Mr. Adams at which time Several Turks and the Linguist being present Mr. Thomas Hill declared that the Ship *Margarett* and Stock wholly belonged to Mr. Robert Adams and Benjamin Adams was his Son, and he was only Servant to said Mr. Robert Adams, this was to prevent any further disputes which might happen. The Bashaw sent for the Zeriff of Mecha about a days Journey from Juddah: when he was come down, he sent for the Codgee and the Officers of the place, and when they were all mett in publick Council they sent for the Cranny or Purser of the *Prince George*, when he came before them with the Linguister, they told him he must make his complaint to them, that they may write to the Grand Seignior.

Accordingly he did declare that the Supra Cargoe, Captain and four or five more English men belonging to the *Prince George* (with Ship and Cargoe appertaining to President Frankland* &c. Gentlemen at Bengall) and Mr. Thomas Hill Supra Cargo of the *Margarett* (which Ship and stock, belonged to Mr. Robert Adams Chief of Tellicherry) were Barbarously murdered by the Inhabitants of Juddah, but why or wherefore he could not tell, and he demanded Satisfaction, on the parts and behalfe of the Owners thereof not only on account the persons murdered, but also for what money and Goods were plundered and stolen from them out of their dwelling house, then the Codgee not only declared, but gave it in writing that it was contrary to their Law to detain any of the money or Goods belonging to the English, so unjustly taken from them, and ought all to be restored them again. They also sent for the Serang of the *Margarett*, then they asked the Cranny† (Mr. Fullerton) if the *Lastarr* was

* For a Biographical note on Henry Frankland, see *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. ix, p. 268

† 1727

† A Clerk. See *Hobson Johnson*, Art. "Cranny."

killed by the English (the word in their language signifies to kill or beat) he replied the people of the place Reported so, but the report was False, then they asked the Serang the same question but being a Musselman, and not understanding their language well, and the word having a double Signification said yes, after which they drew up a writing in the publick Council and made Cranny and Serang sign it being what they declared before the Bashaw &c. which writing with the Codgee's declaration and the Letter from the Bashaw and the Zeriff of Mecha and the Codgee &c. the Bashaw sent express to the Grand Seignieur's, expecting orders to make full restitution, at which time, he has declared, hee'l make Satisfaction for what money wanting.

The Bashaw permits the Cranny and Linguister to go up and down together in what debts may be standing out; and as the money comes in, 'tis Carried to the Bashaw who seals it up with the rest, he has given them a House to live in, and ordered Guards at the water side to see they are not molested coming on board Ship and returning ashore again.

What Occasioned the death of so many Lascarrs belonging to the *Margaret* was by a great Fish they caught which they killed and eat, and as many as eat of it Dyed.

But the Lascarr that dyed the same day Mr. Hill &c, were murdered had fallen into the Hold of the Ship which had bruised his head very much, which caused the people to say he had been beaten and killed by the English, for the bruises in the Lascarrs head the Mobb perceived when they lifted up the sheet that Covered the Corps as they were coming to bury him.

No. 7.

MR. JOHN FULLERTON'S RELATION.

To the Honble Henry Frankland Esqr &c. Owners of Ship *King George*.
Honble Sir and Sirs.

I am heartily sorry to advise you of the Mellancholy Accident that befell us here on June the 6th. Mr. Hill having compleated his business on the 5th and sent his Houshold necessaries on board, desired to stay at our house that night, with which our Gentlemen unfortunately Complied, for (there being a great Mortality among the Moors in his Ship) the populace were apprehensive of their being Maltreated or Murdered, to appease that rumour the Bashaw desired him next day to send aboard for a Corpse which he heard was then in the Ship, which was accordingly brought ashore in Order to Satisfye the Populace, but alas! it had a quite Contrary Effect than what was expected by him or us, for as soon as the Corpse was put ashore there was immediately a great Concourse of people about it, and

some said that his neck had been broke, others that red-hot Irons had been run into his Eyes and many such ridiculous expressions and immediately took up the Corpse carried it to the Palace and showed it to the Bashaw, He reprimanded them severely (particularly some Janizaries that were there) and bid them be quiet and he would send for some Moormen out of Ship *Margarett* of whom he would enquire the Nature of this man's death, but this did not in the least appease them they immediately leaving him came into Town and called out a Musselman killed without reason by Fringis or Christians, and one and all took up their Arms especially the Janizaries who seemed the great Incendiaries and immediately went to the House in which Mr. Hill had lived but finding he was gone thence they immediately came in a Tumultuous manner to our house so that about two P. M. Dinner being just ended the Partakers whereof were Messrs. Robert Frankland, Alexander Dalgleish, Thos. Hill, William Morcom, Richard Barnoby and John Fullerton, we were alarmed with a Noise uncommon, in the Stairs upon which We run to the windows and saw a Confluence of people approaching our great Gates with Fricans and naked Swords, which very much Surprizes us as we knew of no previous provocation, we immediately sent down our Linguist to enquire into the affair, whom they insulted by pulling off his Turbant, and at last fired upon him so that he immediately fled to an adjacent house where he was protected. This sight did not a little defect us; we then called to our Soldiers to Secure the Gates, but as we could put no great Confidence in their integrity nor in the strength of our Gates we Concluded upon every persons making his Escape in the best manner he could and accordingly so soon as we heard the gates burst open We immediately took to flight, some got on tops of the houses others jumped down into adjacent Compounds but in spite of all our endeavours so quick was their assault that most of us were killed, some were abott on Tops of Houses, others mangled and Cuilt to pices in the most inhumane manner, constantly upraiding us as Christians, in fine so Cruel and so quick was the Massacre, that in less than the space of half an hour from the first Assault the above named Gentlemen were out right kill'd save Mr. Hill who was most cruelly mangled and dyed in two days after, and myself whom it pleased God in the most miraculous manner to preserve at this time tho' I was within Ten yards of Mr. Hill during the whole Scene of this bloody treatment.

There was three Portoguese people belonging to us killed at this time also, and an European Gunner of the *Margarett*, this bloody Scene was only the Prelude to their Subsequent Villany for they immediately broke open and ransack'd our Screwtories Chests of Apparell &c. Carried off all our treasure broke open our Godowns and Carried away all the Goods that

remained unsold, my left nothing in the House, so that there was nothing but a Scene of the greatest Devastation.

The Sume of Cash carried away was in Spanish Dollers 61988½ belonging to the owners and private Adventurers of Ship *Prince George* besides 10,000 Spanish Dollers loss of the Linguist's, which he gave in apart Goods lost belonging to owners and private adventurers 33 bales besides some Wax, Sugar &c. altogether amounting upwords of 30,000 Dollers Juddah or 13681½ Spanish Dollars and all our wearing Apparell and money in Scrutores.

But to return to the Melancholy Scene about 3 P. M. when the Mobb was dispersed I got out of a window in the place where I lay Concealed and gott into our house where I lay Concealed till the Kehaia arrived whose protection I claimed and was with him carried in a most miserable Condition to the fort (having no Cloths to shift) I was dispatched by the Bashaw on board ship with an order to detain [the] Ship and promises of the utmost retaliation (notwithstanding of which if [the] Ship had not been so locked in, I should have been in Suspence how to have acted, but our present Circumstances and future hopes made us Comply) and for fear of the Mobb taking boats and annoying the ships they sent aboard some soldiers, which some days after at our request they took away.

Upon my getting aboard, I called up the Officers and let them know the miserable Accident that happen'd ashore and then called up all the people and ordered them (in the Owners name) to pay the same respect and Obedience to Mr. Tho's. Cross now Captain of the *Prince George*, as they had before to Captain Dalgleish with which they readily Complied.

On the 8th came aboard the Kehaia Vizier &c. who enquired what quantity of money was aboard, I replied 50,000 Spanish Dollars which they desired to see, and weighed of some bags to see if they were according to report, which they ordered again to be Stowed away, and then examined other Chests to see if any Treasure was Concealed, but there was none, they afterwards called up the Officers and people and enquired of them to whom the Succession was Customary in case of such an Accident as happened, they replied to the Comander of the Ship Mr. Thomas Cross, and to the Charge of the Merchandize me, accordingly we were carried before the Bashaw that night after which Captain Cross went on board, and I to our house, where my new Station Satt but very heavily upon me, being alone ashore without either Assistance to Adjust Accounts or give Advice, on the 9th I was Sent for early to the fort, and desired forthwith to give an Account of money and Goods lost, to which I replied that all papers and and Books were carried away and Consequently I could give but a Lame Account till I found them, wherefore I begged leave to see some papers

which they had Sealed up, and carried out of our house to the Fort the first night that the Accident happened, which they promised to do, but to my great trouble could find neither Mr. Frankland's Journal nor Leidger among them nor any thing to give me any light into our Affairs besides a Waste Book in which I kept an Account of Goods delivered and their prices, I begged of the Bashaw a later time and from that old Book would endeavour to make new Books and give an Account of all goods brought hither what Goods Sold to whom what paid Customs and what remained in our Godowns when this Accident hapned which I accordingly accomplished and delivered next day (being willing to forfeit Sleep rather than their displeasure at this Juncture) the Cozie (or Chief Justice) with the Bashaw's and Zeriph's Writers took down all the particulars in the presence of the Kehala and Vizier, I was then ordered by the Bashaw to look out for another house there being some Mahometan Inscriptions on the Gateway, they thought it not proper we should stay there.

About the 13th Mr. Fullerton's books came to Sight which I compared with mine, and found Very little Occasion for Alteration in mine, but Severall things Sold that day had not been Sett down in his and some Cash that day received of which the Shroff gave an Account, they had tore out all the leaves out of the Leidger, and I believe they had never come to light had they not found that I could do without them.

The Zeriph having come down from Mecha there was a grand Council Satt on our affair on the 18th at the Fort, where were present the Zeriph and Bashaw the Mufti's and Cori's of Mecha and of this place the Generall of the Janizaries and the most noted Merchants: about nine in the morning I was sent for to the Fort, and they desired I would write for Captains Cross and Gray which I accordingly did and about eleven we were all called in, after Ceremonys were over the Bashaw and Zeriph declared their great Concern for the late Accident, and said it was owing entirely to the unruly Nobb, and appealed to us if ever they had given us any reason to Suspect their being Concerned, We replied in the Negative, and that before this we had found the utmost Civility and kind usage which gave us encouragement to return again to this Fort. The Zeriph desired of me now a particular Account of our Losses which I then gave in as abovementioned which he ordered then to be minuted down, but left out our Linguists he having mentioned it apart.

I thought it now a proper time to shew your Instructions in which you are pleased to nominate me to Succeed in Case of the Death of the Other Gentlemen to obviate any Cavills about want of power to take Charge of your Effects (which they once gave out) and at the same time shewed the Ship's Pass with the Bashaw's and Zeriph's Letters for our Protection which

I hope they would comply with, and desired leave to depart with our Ship and what money we had, that we might not loose our Monsoon, they dismiss'd us after giving us Coats in Confirmation of our new Stations with promise of particular Care of our persons and a full Restitution of our money and Goods, and that they would dispatch us in good time.

On the 21st finding there was no Signs of our dispatches I went to a great Confident of the Zeriphi's and talked with him of the unreasonableness of detaining our Ships, who hinted to me, that they were diffident of my power to receive the money and Ship, and that they were afraid there never would come another Ship belonging to the English here again, to which I answered and desired he would Acquaint the Zeriph of it (that provided they dispatch the Ship and what money we could gett) I would stay behind, and was so confident of the Owners confirming my power and Sending another Ship that I would Submit my Sell to their pleasure here next year in case of non-compliance from Bengall.

On the 22d I went to the Bashaw and made some overtures and earnestly begged the dispatch of the Ships, how farr these Great Men have Complied with their promises publickly made to us on the 18th you'l Judge when I acquaint you that on the 30th we were sent for per Bashaw who told us he would have dispatched us before, but not having as yet got in all our money he did not care to Lett us go away dissatisfyed, he therefore begged our Patience, 'till his return from Hodge, and desired that the Captains would order their Sails ashore, and then he should be Satisfied of our being easy 'till he came back again and in a publick Assembly of the noted Merchants of this place, and the Surat Noqueedah's, he assured us upon his Honour that he would Dispatch us with the Surat Ships, but I then gave him to understand, that we had a greater distance to run than they, the Monsoon Very much elapsed and Charges Very great, and in Case we could not go away in the proper Monsoon Neither Risque nor Charge could be on the Owners but on him, However on June the 31st he went to Mecha and we have not had one Message from him Since tho' Eight days are elapsed since the Moormen had their Dispatches but detain'd by Contrary winds.

When I tell you of our Long boat's being kept ashore and all our Moormen, and neither Store of Wood nor Water aboard I presume it will in some Measure atone for Sending for the Sails, that we might have a grant for carrying off daily Sustenance for them aboard.

I now advise you of what retaliation has been made, I have received in Cash according to the weight the Kehala was pleased to give me which is two per Cent less (of which I made mention when weighing but to no purpose) and giving a great many German Crowns by weight which ought

to be taken by Talce, I say received 37287½ Spanish Dollers, and in Goods received to the amount of 1563¼ Juddah Dollers which at 220 per Cent is 7105½ Spanish Dollers so that remains in Cash and Goods still in the Government's hands about 68160 Juddah Dollers or 30982 Spanish Dollers the whole amount of Sales publick and private is about 371000 Juddah Dollers of which Demands must be made and will appear by my Books in case of Death besides 13818 Juddah Dollers in Goods with the Government not included in the Sales.

At present I cannot make any Certain Conjecture of the Conclusion of our Affairs for we are here detained ashore (Vizt. Captain Cross and self) and our money, we are not permitted to send on board, our expences great and how long our persons may be safe we know not so that the only remedy we can find is patience for the present and dependance on God's Providence and your Friendship for the Future.

On the 22d June at the Importunity of the Bashaw I Made bold to write to the English Ambassador at Constantinople, giving a Generall account of the Accident and our Losses, but not in the least thinking of our Ships being detained the year, did not request his Interest for our dispatches, but so precarious is the delivery of Letters that (most being intercepted by them) I know not whether that will reach him, on the 25th June I wrote to Moullah Mahmud Ally to Mecha, (and at the same time spoke to the Surat Nocquedah's and Merchants in Town for their Interest when they went to Hodge) and begged his Interest with Zeriph and Bashaw for our dispatch, and related to him our Innocency and how willing I was to come into any reasonable Measures for departure of [the] Ship, which he soon afterwards advising me that he had used his Interest but to no purpose, on July the 25th Arrived Moullay Mahmud Ally and Surat Nocquedahs who told me each of them that they had used their Interest but to no purpose wherefore I humbly beg that no Severe measures may be taken with them while we remaine here which the Natives are much affraid of, how farr Innocent I hope time will make appear, On August 4th arrived Kehaina from Mecha on whom we waited: after the ordinary Complements passed I told them, I was much Surprized at the Bashaw's Silence and the Monsoon being now elapsed I Concluded that it was by his order we were detained here and Consequently the Risque and Charge of Ships and Estates was entirely upon him, to which he faintly Replyed that he believed the Bashaw had wrote to Constantinople, that he would detain Ships and Money till he had Advices from thence, I told him that the Bashaw must be Conscious of what he had done that way before he went hence, and if so, I was Surprized at his giving his promise before the publick assembly of our departures in the Monsoon.

I am Sorry after so long a detail of Melancholy Circumstances to let you know that had we been dispatch'd here in good time (and sold our Rice at Mocha which we intended and which is now aboard) our Voyage would not much have exceeded Principall, our Graff * Goods Selling at very low rates, such as Sugar, Chittigong Baltaes, Cowpitch and Rice, here now Valued at 5 Juddah Dollers pr Aidr [?] which is near two and a Quarter Baggs.

In two Months from this time an answer is expected from Constantinople, and how things may be ordered then I know not, but the Common report is we shall then be dispatch'd and full reparation made, but some still talk of their doubting my power to carry away your Effects and ship, and that they want a further order from you, which if you think proper to grant me, it must be in the most ample manner to receive Goods Money and Ship, and must be wrote also in Arabs with a Chop † of a Moor Cozie and three other Moor witnesses and Directed to any persons whom it may Concern, it being uncertain whether this Bashaw may not be removed, I hope you'll please also to send a new Pass for the Ship, we shall also want some Tarr and Oyl and Rice for Lascarrs.

I have consulted with some private people and our Lingalist about the best method I could write as to future proceedings (which humbly submit to your better Judgements) their advice was that a small Ship be Sent here with a proper Cargo (of which I give a List herewith from the Account I had of the sales at the Hodge) and that you advise the Zeriph and Bashaw in your Letters to them (for I believe it would be proper to write to both) that you have sent such a Ship consigned to whom you shall think proper but on Terms that she shall not come into the Harbour, nor unload 'till such time as the *Prince George* is cleared out of the Harbour With her Treasure and people, and 'twill be proper She be Navigated with some Europeans and all the others Christians, the Moors Constantly leaving us here and giving us much trouble, this appears the most probable method of getting clear with our Ship and Effects in the easiest manner at this Juncture, it will flatter them with the hopes of our Continuing the Trade, (which they are afraid of loosing) and hope it may be done with Safety as well as a Very Considerable Proffitt, for our Ship riding without will be an entire check upon them for fear of annoying the Ships bound out or into this Harbour which they are much afraid of, If this Overture be agreeable to you please to dispatch the Ship as early as possible and (if possibly I can) I shall send Letters to Mocha to give advices, or if she should meet us at Mocha the Same Cargo will answer there for if we have leave to go, upon news from Constantinople, we will use our utmost endeavours to gett to Mocha as soon as possible in order to Sell our Rice which I hope will much help out the Voyage ;

* Probably Dutch word *graf* = Coarse.

† Seal.

By the above Account of Goods lost you see that the greatest part of our Cargo was sold before the Gentlemens Death, Since which time I have made up all Accounts with the Merchants [and] given them a discharge as they required.

Already have received from the Government Cash amounting to

Juddah Dollers ... 70500

And there is further due from Merchants (which is payable in a day or two) Spanish Dollers being so scarce before the Hodge

could not pay me then except in Gold on which great Loss ... 3150

besides the Dehts due by the Government which I am to receive as above ; your accounts I have adjusted and would have sent your Accot. Sales and Account Current but could not find a Conveyance for by writing of this, and folding of it you may Conjecture the difficulty of getting a Letter Conveyed nay I am even in Suspense now I have wrote it, whether it may ever reach your hands, but I heartily pray it may, however my books I keep up and keep also Mr. Franklands so that by Comparing you will see perfectly into your affairs.

What was a Considerable Loss on your Voyage was that Mr. Hill had agreed on the Exchange of money before our Arrival Vizt 220 Juddah Dollers for 100 Spanish Dollers which was last year 313½ and again is ordered to be so by the Zeriph and Bashaw for the ensuing year.

Whether you shall see fit to allow me Share of the Commission for the above Services and what I shall further do I entirely refer to your Honour &c. Owners Generosity.

I shall not further trespass upon your Time and Patience but Conclude assuring you of the discharge of my trust with the utmost Diligence and Fidelity and am with the greatest Respect,

Honble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient Humble Servant,

JUDDAH,

August the 8th 1727.

JOHN FULLERTON.

P. S. Captain Cross behaves himself with much Prudence in his own department and the management of his people all being Very quiet on board ; Ship *Margaritt* is detained here also with her Treasure about to the amount of 45000 Spanish Dollers.

No. 8.

The Worshipfull John Courtney, Esqr., Chief of Surat, his Relation of the Massacre at Juddah, Dated September the 21st 1727.

The Massacre of your poor Brother Hill and the rest of the unfortunate Gentlemen at Juddah, gave me in particular (and I dare believe every English

man) a deep Concern, you will assuredly receive Account thereof from Mr. King. But this day I had from a Slave of Abdul Raman Isaac of this place who is the Manager of his Master's Affairs the following Account he being an Eye Witness, that after the Massacre your Brother Mr. Hill was found alive and in his Senses, and things being by the Bashaw restored to good order Mr. Hill sent for your Son Benjamin ashore and told the people that the Ship, money and goods belonged to that young man's father who was the English Chief at Tellicherry: in about three days Mr. Hill dyed and Benjamin went aboard again, after which the Bashaw having by punishment recovered most of the money and Goods ashore it was all housed and the seals of the Bashaw Codge and Mufti put on the hales, which they likewise did on board Ship after having Secured all there: then the Bashaw wrote a relation of the whole affair to the Port of Constantinople and when an answer comes from thence this man and every one else says the Ships and all the Goods will be delivered up to the Principall or to the order of the Governour of Bombay of which I have wrote Governour Phipps this day, I must add that the Bashaw for fear the Ship should sail away before he received an answer sent aboard and brought away all their sails.

No. 9.

To Mr. Edward Carteret and Captain Charles Boddam Supra Cargoes of the *Walpole*.

Gentlemen,

We having for Severall weighty and Substantiall reasons thought it not only proper but absolutely necessary to send the *Walpole* with the *Dolphin* Brigantine to attend her to the port of Juddah in order to demand Restitution of Ships *Prince George* and *Margarett* with their Money and Effects so unjustly hitherto detained there, by the Bashaw notwithstanding his most Solemn and publick assurances given and repeated in open manner to Mr. Fullerton and Mr Cross) do hereby appoint and nominate you to go as our Representatives to Juddah and to be the Managers of this weighty affair and We dont in the least doubt but you will be very punctual in the observance of our orders, and Very Diligent and Careful in all your Actions, still making this your generall rule, to preferre Peace and Amity to all Acts of Hostility, and to do nothing but what you reilly think is for the Benefit and advantage of your Employers.

We therefore now order you to repair on board said Ship *Walpole* and wind and Weather permitting to make the best of your way to the Mallabarr Coast, where you are to take in what water Provisions &c. you shall Judge necessary for your intended Voyage.

We would have you call in at Tellicherry for as Robert Adams Esqr. is chief Owner of the *Margarett* which Ship is also detained at Juddah, on the same Account as the *Prince George*, so it is very necessary you should consult and advise with him in respect to said Ship *Margarett*. We are of Opinion that he will very readily enter into his Proportion of the Expences of this Expedition, especially since the advantages of it was likely to be so great, as this is a matter of Consequence, so whatsoever Agreement you come to with Mr. Adams ought to be Signed and Sealed and whatsoever orders you receive from him ought to be given under his own handwriting, and for the better Security let them be sealed also.

Having finished your business at Tellicherry you are to proceed directly for Mocha, where we hope you will receive advices and Letters from Mr. Fullerton and Mr. Cross giving Account how matters stand at Juddah, you must have a due regard to whatsoever Intelligence you may receive from those Gentlemen or others belonging to either the *Prince George* or *Margarett* and take care to govern your Selves accordingly.

As the Chief of Mocha last year obliged all Merchants and others who were any wise indebted to the Gentlemen on that Side of India, to make full Satisfaction by a just discharge of their said Debts, to Mr. Cowan who was sent with some Gallies on purpose to demand the same; so we now order you on your Arrival there, to acquaint all the Merchants who are indebted to the Gentlemen on this side India, that you come with the same power to Demand Payment of their Debts and the same Resolution to gett it, and in Case they do not either pay their Debts, or give Sufficient good Security, We do hereby order and impower you to make Reprizalls and to distress the Port of Mocha as much as you can, and in Case of any resistance you are to repell Force by Force.

We must desire you to make all possible dispatch from every place you touch at, for it is Vastly for the common Interest that you arrive early at Juddah. On your arrivall there, We do order that you come to an Anchor without the Harbour, in any Safe Convenient place, such as you shall Judge most proper for the easier Stopping up the Port, and Commanding all their Vessells in case of Necessity, It is Very probable that as soon as the *Prince George* and *Margarett* people see you come to an Anchor, they will if permitted come on board you which we wish they may, since the receiving any Intelligence there will be a good guide for your future Conduct, In case they are not allowed to come near you we would have you send ashore your boat with one of your Passengers to learn how matters go, and to acquaint the Bashaw of your Arrivall, and that you design to send your Linguist ashore the next day to waite on him with our Letter which will Sattisfie him that you are sent on a friendly and peaceable Design and only to

Demand Restitution of our Ships with all their Masts rigging and Appurtenances, as well as all our Money and Effects and Satisfaction for the Loss we must have Sustained in this unjust detention of them, you are to Demand payment of all debts due by any of the Merchants there to either the owners of *Prince George* or *Margaritt*, or to the Private Traders, and we do hereby Strictly charge and Command you (as you will answer the Contrary to your perill) not to enter the Harbour of Juddah 'till the *Prince George* and *Margaritt* are restored with all their money and Effects, and are safe in your Possession, And we do hereby order you not to Land one Piece of Goods, or to suffer directly or indirectly one piece to be landed there at Juddah, 'till the Bashaw has made full and ample Satisfaction and Restitution.

You are to acquaint the Bashaw and Government there that these are your possitive and express Orders, and that you darst not in any point swerve from them, but be the Consequence what it will are Strictly obliged to follow our Commands, you are further to acquaint him if he thinks proper to comply with our Request, to deliver up our Ships, to restore our money and Effects, and to make us Satisfaction for our Losses in having our Ships, and money so long kept from us, that then you have Orders to enter the Harbour of Juddah and to Land your Goods, He first giving security for the Protection of your persons and our Estates, you are to represent that as you come in a Friendly Manner and with a good design and do no more than Demand what is our undoubted right, so you cannot imagine but he will Very readily deliver every thing up, and make us all possible Satisfaction

You are also to represent that as the Barbarous and Inhumane Murder of our Friends, 'Tho' it was Contrary to his Approbation and done without his knowledge, yet as he has it in his power to make examples of the Ringleaders of that guilty Mobb, so you expect that some of them should be executed to Sattisfie the Injured, and to Terrifie their own people from ever committing the same Peice of Villany again, that in Case the Bashaw pretends he has no power to execute that you then insist on his Joyning with you and granting you his Interest to procure an Order from the Grand Seignieur for their Execution as such exemplary Justice on the guilty is due to the Injured, and is for the Generall good of all Mankind, so we cannot think he will Judge our demand unreasonable or in the least oppose it, for unless such Severe methods were taken with Such Barbarous Villains there could be no Trade nor Society nor any living among one another, If Englishmen are to be first Murdered at their Port of Juddah and then plundered, and those Concerned in the Villany go unpunished and no Restitution is made, they can never expect that we shall ever send a Ship thither for the future.

Having hitherto had orders only to acquaint the Bashaw with the Peaceable part of your Instructions; We come now to order you to let him know that in Case of his Refusal to do us Justice and to deliver up our Ships and Effects you are then Commanded to stop up the Harbour of Juddah, not to Suffer any Ships or Vessells to Trade thither, to make Reprizals on all that you can take, and in short to make use of all acts of Hostility, and this you are not only to advise him of, but to put in Execution, and by Virtue of the Commission you have received from us, you are Empowered to Declare Warr against them and to use all Hostile means to Force them to compliance, and to recover our rights, to kill, burn, and destroy all that do oppose you.

We have hired the Ship *Walpole* of the Honble English East India Company for this Expedition as we are obliged by Charter party to dispatch her home on December or January 1728/9 so you must on no Account whatever detain her out any longer than the Monsoon for the Arriving back here in good time will permitt, as we have before ordered you to Stop up the Harbour of Juddah in Case of the Bashaw refusing to make any Satisfaction or Restitution So it is now proper to Limitt those orders and acquaint you that you are not to remain before the Harbour of Juddah longer than the first of August, since if you do, you may endanger the timely return hither, you are in Such case to proceed directly for Mocha and there leave Mr. Edward Cartaret Ensign Coult Mr. Griffith and Twenty Soldiers in order to Sell and protect our Estates, which you are there to land, and then dispatch away the *Walpole* for Bengall, We do repeat our positive order that you on no Account land a Bale at Juddah unless Satisfaction and restitution is made, and in case you should break these our Orders, We do hereby protest against both of you, both in our own behalfs and in behalf of the former Owners of *Prince George* and *Margarett*, And do declare if you hold any Commerce (in either buying or Selling of any Goods) with the Port of Juddah (they having made us no Restitution nor Satisfaction) that you in such case shall be liable as farr as you are able to make good the Losses and Damage Sustained by the Owners of the *Prince George* and *Margarett*.

Having agreed with the Owners of the *Nancy* that their Ship shall not proceed to Juddah nor indirectly send any of their Cargo thither, We do hereby order that in Consideration thereof you land no Goods going up to Mocha which would be a great Detriment to their Voyage, and oblige them to look out for another market which would certainly Occasion their coming to Juddah, and that would be a no less prejudice to your Cargo, We do therefore hereby forbid you landing any Goods at Mocha as you call there on your way to Juddah.

The Accompanying Pacquets to Mr. Fullerton and Mr. Cross pray deliver and in case of their death (which God forbid) We would have you

open the said Pacquets and take Care and Charge of the Ship *Prince George* with the Cargoe and Effects appointing what captain Officers &c. you shall think necessary following such Orders as are given to Messieurs Fullerton & Cross. We wish you a good Voyage and Success in your affairs and are

Fort William,	}	Sirs,
The 29th December 1727,		Your Loving Friends and Humble Servants,
		Hen. Frankland
		Richd. Bouchier
		Hugh Barker
		John Bonkett
		Thos. Coates
		John Hinde.

Narrative of a Journey, etc.—I.

THE journal here published was purchased by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., who was fortunate enough to pick it up by chance at an old bookshop in Norwich. I hope that before the second and concluding instalment goes to the press I shall have succeeded in discovering the name of the author. It was suggested to me that abridgment might be made, but it seemed to me to abridge would be to rob the journal of the colour of the author's mind and the mental fashion of his times. One passage—a very foolish passage about Indian women—I have suppressed. I do not doubt that the writer was honestly convinced that the view expressed in this passage represented the truth; but I would do him the justice of supposing that the idea of its being put into print by a person who did not share his conviction would have caused him shame.

The account of the Holwell Monument is interesting. A picture of the monument as it stood some time between 1790—1803 appeared in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. XI, and the railing and shrubs are in evidence. Fraser's view (published in 1824) shows the monument without the railings. The reader will remember that the monument was broken down in 1821 by orders of the Marquess of Hastings.

Extracts
of a
Journal
of a
Voyage
to the
East Indies
and return to
England,
Annis Domini 1817 and
1818,
in a
Merchant
Ship
of the
H. E. I. C.

The author has inserted a map of Bengal, engraved by Kirkwood and Son of Edinburgh, "projected by C. A. 1810."

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

TO MY BELOVED AND RESPECTED SISTER ANNE:—

It is for your perusal, that I have made from my Note book, such selections as are comprised in the following manuscript. Our opportunities of personal intercourse are, unhappily, few: and I am consequently obliged to write, what would, however, require no great portion of time to speak. When I believe that you have taken a lively interest in my movements, since we parted, I am sure I do not flatter myself. Of those movements I can give but a simple detail—higher pretensions this sketch does not make. Information literary and scientific, political and religious, of the countries of the East, lies before the world in ample store; you, I am sure, from your habits of reading and reflection, have embraced and digested it. And did these resources of intellectual gratification not exist, you would look for it to me in vain. With my hurry of embarkation you are well acquainted: that but a few previous hours I had no such intention—that I had never peculiarly directed my thoughts, my reading, or my studies, to subjects of eastern curiosity—that after my appointment I had no opportunity to obtain preparatory information either from conversation or books—that my official situation precluded my attainment of that local knowledge, which, even thus circumstanced, I might otherwise have had: in fine, that I was destitute of all the means requisite to the improvement of travel. Be therefore, my dear Sister, content with a mere route—with what might nearly as well have been afforded by a dotted line upon a chart.

Whilst, however, I have brought back nothing that can augment the knowledge of others—no feasts for their imagination, and no accessions to physical science—my experience has deeply engraven on my own mind certain aphorisms of the science of morals, of which the theoretical impression was delible, and impotent. I have learnt that human nature is every where the same in essence—modified, it is true, by external circumstances, but modified alone—that whether it be contemplated under the character of the landsman, or the sailor, the European, or the Hindoo—it presents the same disgusting picture of vice and folly, the same lamentable complexion of woe. I do not mean to deny that to refinement, to virtue, and to happiness, some situations are not more favorable than others—nor that such facilities have been embraced, in all countries and conditions, in a ratio proportionate to their existence. I believe the contrary, and it is the faith of experience.

But I mean to say, that he, who weary and oppressed by the view of the dark foreground of moral life, seeks in the distance for repose and relief, will seek them in vain. Of Hindoo simplicity, faith and purity, much has been said and written—whence originated such reports, I know not—whether from ignorance or duplicity—from a want of penetration beneath the surface of unassuming and courteous manners, or from the impious wish to restrain

the introduction of Christianity into that benighted empire, by a representation that it would be superfluous. Perhaps, my dear Sister, you may affirm that my opportunities of intercourse and observation were too few, and too short to warrant me in a depreciation of Hindoo morals. Such as they were I have stated—and he it remembered, that although my residence was almost, exclusively in the ship, yet, that during a residence even there of six months, some opportunity must be given of an inspection of native manners. Remember also that for upwards of a year I have been placed in the society of men, who have made repeated voyages to the country, and from whom I have never received irreconcilable accounts.

I have learnt likewise the futility of attempts to shake off our misery by change of place. Perhaps for this expression you would substitute a softer—the vanity of seeking happiness by change of place. But this I deem less applicable, since it is not the desire of somewhat they would gain, so much as the escape from somewhat they already have, that prompts the varied movements of mankind. It is the sentiment of the philosophic and pious Pascal, that the same motive drives the Hunter to the tumults of the chase, and the General to the turbulence of war, a wish to rid him of himself. He whose mind is ill at ease in one country, why should he expect repose in another?

It was an observation of Horace, that such a man might indeed change his climate, but that he would carry with him the same unhappy mind—of the truth of which the history of an eminent modern Poet affords an illustration, thus beautifully described by himself.

Sated at home, of wife and children tired,
The restless soul is driven abroad to roam,
Sated abroad, all seen but nought admired.
The restless soul is driven to wander home,

Of the cause of this universal restlessness, this pursuit of extraneous objects, this shifting of the scenery of life, you, my dear Sister, are not ignorant. It is a lesson taught you by that divine philosophy, whose coruscations have obscured by their effulgence all the systems that preceded it, and all that have essayed to twinkle since. That philosophy has alone been able to solve the most mysterious problems of moral phenomena.

Nor is it less evident, that of this epidemic malady as you know the origin, you have learnt also the cure. This is demonstrated by your profoundly passive resignation to that inscrutable decree of Providence, by which, for so long a period, you have been fettered to the couch of sickness. Physically incapable of yielding to the dictates of that restless spirit, which stimulates, yet tantalizes others, you have found in your chamber, what eludes the research of others, who cross seas, and clime mountains, and visit

cities, to obtain it. May you retain it still; and when it shall please Almighty God to restore to you the use of your corporeal powers, may you still on them be independent for felicity, till you reach that sublimer mode of existence, in which, like the pleasures of time, the enjoyment of space will vanish before the "fulness of joy" and the sight of God!!!

Your affectionate,

ROBERT.

JOURNAL

1817. Wednesday, March 12, at half past two P.M. I received, in Norwich information of a vacancy for an Assistant Surgeon on board, the Hon. Company's ship *The Princess Charlotte of Wales*. The ship had already dropped down the Thames on her way to the Downs. At four P.M. I left Norwich in the mailcoach, and reached London the following morn at seven. Having obtained an introduction to the managing owner of the ship, received my instructions at the India House, and passed a medical examination, I received permission to join the ship directly.

March 14: At two o'clock A.M. I left London with the Purser, who was charged with the dispatches for India, and reached Deal about two P.M.

Thus, in the space of about forty-eight hours from my reception of the intelligence, I found myself on the beach at Deal, and the ship at anchor about two miles distant: having travelled about two hundred miles to reach her. This short period, so passed, allowed me preparation, neither of articles of convenience, nor of sufficient money, nor the attainment of literary, or scientific information of the regions I was about to visit. This circumstance, upon a review of the space I have traversed, and the time I have spent, serves to palliate the regret I endure of the little addition made to my knowledge or my wisdom.

I embarked instantly. The dispatches arrived, and the wind favorable, preparations were made to weigh anchor, all was activity, and noise. As I was unprepared for an Indian Voyage, I obtained leave to land, to procure some linen articles, in addition to a few I had procured in London.

At midnight the anchor was weighed. The sky moonless, but clear and starry—the wind light, and from the east and the sea smooth. All hands, sailors and soldiers, were employed. These last consisted of detachment of H. M. 30, 34 and 87th regiments of Infantry. The capsan was turned to the quickened tones of the fife.

Vainly, this night, I endeavoured to sleep. The noise, the novelty of the scenes of the day, allowed me not a wink. I rose repeatedly and paced the quarter deck.

Saturday, March 15. The latitude by observation to-day is $50^{\circ} 49''$ N. Thermometer 49° . Barometer, $30^{\circ} 28''$. Sunday March 16. Lat.— $50^{\circ} 18''$ N. Monday, March 17: Lat. $49^{\circ} 34''$ N. Barom. $30^{\circ} 28''$. Thermom. 49° . I find that there is no provision for the sick on board, except drugs. The soldiers are berthed in the dark and ill ventilated regions of the lower or orlop deck. Such as are sick are surrounded by their noisy comrades deprived to a great degree of light, of air and of the means of cleanliness, so indispensable to the preservation, much more to the recovery of health. The diseases, at present, are chiefly suffered by the soldiers, and consist mostly of certain dysenteric symptoms, accompanied by inflammatory affections of the chest.

Can there be a helpless human being in a more deplorable plight than what is exemplified in the sick wretches confined in the orlop Deck?

March 18. Lat. $49^{\circ} 21''$ N.

March 24. Lat. $36^{\circ} 46''$ N. Longitude $16^{\circ} 33''$ W. Thermom. 57° . Barom. $30^{\circ} 20''$. Hitherto, almost without exception, the wind has favored us. Whilst off the Bay of Biscay, we experienced that rolling of the ship, which is constantly felt in this part, and which brought the sea sickness upon many. From my own sensations, which amounted but to extreme nausea, I infer that the best method of preventing it, besides regularity of the alvine functions, is employment of mind, either about official duties, or on pleasant subjects, foreign to the surrounding scene; and that the best method of conquering it, is a recumbent posture. I found, that if I were actively engaged, my nausea was suspended—and that an increase was caused by gloomy thoughts excited by the remembrance of absent friends, and country, or the probability of disaster—and that if the nausea were exaggerated to almost vomiting, this effect was anticipated immediately by a horizontal position.

A glass of spirits and water is an excellent remedy, and every precaution must be used to prevent vomiting, since there exists, in some persons, great difficulty to repress its violence.

A ship, so circumstanced, presents a scene exquisitely adapted to the taste and pencil of Hogarth. The rolling, if great, requires every moveable in the vessel to be lashed. At dinner the dishes slide down, now on one side, now on the other, and the attitudes of the party, some securing their plates, others baptized by gravy, some tantalized in vain attempts to put their glasses to their mouths, and others falling back, chairs and all, are truly grotesque. Unhabituated to the sea, I could gain no refreshing rest during the continuance of this weather. The noise of the seamen, the roaring of the waves and the wind, and the actual shipping of water through the crevices of the port holes, kept me restless and watchful by night. The effects of the sea sickness lasted many days upon some of the soldiers' wives.

There were no accidents, from the severity of the weather, except to one

man; who was employed, with another, in luring the foretopgallant sail. The opposite end of the yard to that on which these men were supported, was suddenly tilted up. One of the men was fortunately intangled by his left leg in the ropes of the yard, and hung suspended; with his head downward. His companion was precipitated, and having traversed a considerable space, caught hold of some rigging and thus anticipated destruction. The brave fellow instantly recognized the frightful attitude of his comrade, and without a moment's delay, ascended, and helped [to] lower the yard till he [was] extricated.

A contusion of this man's leg detained him long on the sick list. Thursday, March 27. Lat. $30^{\circ} 13''$ N. Long. $21^{\circ} 27''$ W. Thermom. 65° . Barom. $30^{\circ} 08''$. The Latitudes we now traverse afford an atmosphere of incomparable softness. The air is not sultry, nor does one feel heated, but after exercise. It is such as to make us forget we are surrounded by it. A breath of air, now and then fanning us, serves to remind us of a physical existence. This day a boy was discovered on board, who had followed the soldiers of the 87th Regt. These had fed and concealed him from the observation of the ship's officers in the obscurity of the orlop Deck. He came from near Colchester, and having, he said, no relations acted thus to escape a workhouse.

My imagination has not yet become reconciled to the scenes around—and did I listen to it alone, to the neglect of my judgment, I should never be free from very unenviable feelings.

From the nightly visions of fancy, and of England, I awake to the oaths and clamors of seamen and of soldiers—to the dashing of waves, and to a sense of suffocation in a cabin just large enough to allow the cots of a messmate and myself to swing. It is our mess, sitting, and bedroom. March 28. Lat. $27^{\circ} 55''$ N. Long. $22^{\circ} 44''$ W. Thermom. 64° .

To-day fresh beef killed in England, was cooked for the last time. Sunday, April 13. We are a few minutes ($59''$) north of the line, Long. $23^{\circ} 1''$ W. Barom. $30^{\circ} 5''$. Thermom. 80° . The heat is extreme. But there is a difference in the sensation of heat and perspiration produced in these equable temperatures, from that arising in varying climates. In these the air so much cooler than the body produces a chilly feeling. The diseases, at present, are caused or much modified by the nature of the climate; such as Languor, debility, loss of appetite, dysenteric symptoms, owing probably, in some measure, to rash exposure of the body perspiring profusely, to currents of air.

A shark was caught two days since. I believe, from an inspection of the jawbones dissected out of their situation, that this fish can very

much increase the capacity of his mouth by bringing his upper and under jaws into the same plane, forming by their rim a complete circle. The teeth are saw like, and moveable.

May 3. Lat. $26^{\circ}52'$ S. Long. $33^{\circ}45'$ W. Barom. $30^{\circ}3''$ Thermom. 73° . The usual farce was performed by the seamen at our crossing the equator. One personates Neptune; one his harber; others his satellites, or constables. The troops and passengers were protected by the Skipper from the ceremony—it is this. The votary of the God, if I may so speak, is led blindfold by his minions, disguised grotesquely, to the gangway. On his approach, he is assailed from all sides by water bucketted on him—he is seated on a plank traversing the mouth of a large tub full of water—he is interrogated by Neptune, shaved with a notched iron hoop, pitched over the face and head, and suddenly plunged into the water by the removal of his support.

The lenity or severity, with which these different nuisances are administered, depends upon the personal feelings of the God and his priests.

The victims to this ceremony are a laughing stock to all the spectators, and it is not everybody, that can bring his mind tamely to submit to indignity.

The natural jealousy, that subsists betwixt seamen and soldiers, had nearly, on this occasion, been illustrated in vivid colors.

The seamen, irritated by the escape of the troops from the annoyance they purposed them to endure, leapt sword in hand into the orlop Deck, to compel obedience. The bravery and activity of a young officer quelled the tumult. It is the duty of every commander of a vessel to prohibit this ceremony. Some have not the courage to dissolve the custom. During the process a soldier fell overboard. He was an expert swimmer and soon saved in the cutter. Some large fish, when he was about a quarter of a mile astern, terrified us by the idea they were sharks about to seize him. They proved to be porpoises.

This man possessed a fine woman in his wife, who was accompanying him to India: and one of his comrades, the instant it was reported that Huglain was overboard, exclaimed with demonstrations of joy "Now, then, I 'll have his wife." Let no man deny that delicacy and tenderness predominate in the bosoms of men!

May 5. Lat. $31^{\circ}4'$ S. Long. $29^{\circ}1'$ Barom. $30^{\circ}4''$ Thermom. 72° . Course S.W. Wind fresh, S.-S.-E. Ship running 8 or 9 knots an hour. Two deaths have occurred. The first of an infant, son of a soldier of the 87th. His parents are Irish Catholics—the distracted mother administered holy water, of which she had brought a phial full, to the child, and when, in spite of the holy water, and the doctor, the poor creature died, she attributed his death to witchcraft. A sailor was noticing the child on deck in the morning.

and called him "a little fairy." I heard the mother execrating, and vowing vengeance against the sailor, as the cause, by this expression of her infant's death. A dissection of the body demonstrated, that although witchcraft was not demanded in explication, the malady was by no means of hacknied occurrence. It was the J lens. This supposition of the mother's was in direct violation of the rule of Horace, "*Ne deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus*!"

The disease proved fatal in less than 24 hours.

The second death was of a sailor. He fell a victim to a rheumatic metastasis to the head.

The poor fellow had been a Thames Waterman, and finding his trade slack, had determined on a voyage to India, as more lucrative than one from Hungerford stairs to London Bridge.

May 16. Lat $36^{\circ} 9''$ S. Long. $4^{\circ} 45''$ East. Barom. 30° . Thermom. 58° . The last few days have been seen many albatrosses, Cape Pidgeons, Mother Cary's Chickens, and Cape Hens. The first birds are very large. The second as large as our Domestic Pidgeons, web-footed, having a beak like a duck's, with a projection upon the upper mandible near the forehead. Their bellies, and the under-surface of their wings, except at tips, white. Backs, and upper surface of wings, mottled black and white. Eyes entirely black. Neither red nor white visible. Many were caught by a hook, attached to a bait, and floating at the extremity of a line.

Mother Cary's chickens are very little birds—are they described by Barow in this paragraph? "*Anas*. A small brown duck, not much larger than a thrush, and apparently not described by naturalists." I caught none of these. The albatrosses were of two species—*Diomedea exulans*, the brown *Diomedea demersa*, the white.

June 12. Lat $28^{\circ} 20''$ S. Long. $79^{\circ} 42''$ East. Barom. $30^{\circ} 20''$. Thermom. 62° . Wind N.-W.

In our course we approached the south American coast, for the advantage of the South-East Trade wind. The greatest degree of Western longitude made, was $34^{\circ} 16''$. On the 27th of May, our latitude by observation was 39° S. This was the greatest degree of Southern latitude, which we made on that day Long. $32^{\circ} 40''$ East. Barom. $30^{\circ} 6''$. Thermom. $65\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$. The cape pigeons again appear but few albatrosses—and some whales were seen sporting at some distance in the wake of the ship to-day.

June 23. Lat $6^{\circ} 9''$ S. Long. $80^{\circ} 4''$ E. Barom. $29^{\circ} 93''$. Thermom. $79\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$. Wind S.-W.-E.-S.-E. Rain. A seaman was thrown overboard yesterday, who died of fever.

July 3. Lat $5^{\circ} 4''$ N. Long. $82^{\circ} 34''$ E. Barom. $29^{\circ} 95''$. Wind W.-S.-W. This is the greatest point of Eastern Longitude made in our voyage

to Madras. About a week before we reached these roads a squall carried away the foretop mast, the main topgallant mast, and the mizen mast of the *H. C. S. Ross*, which vessel, together with the *Charlotte* had been under the convoy of the *H. C. S. Streatharn*, *Commodore Dale*, from England. Her fate was perceived from our poop, and as she was four miles to windward, time was afforded to take in sail, ere the squall reached us. The *Ross* narrowly escaped destruction. Her lee-ports were open, and she heeled over terrifically. Several men were shook off the rigging into the water, who instantaneously regained the deck so great a mass of ropes rigging, and spars was collected about the ship's side.

MADRAS.

On Tuesday, July 8, we anchored in Madras Roads at sunset, about a mile and half distant from Fort St. George.

The first land, whose aspect blessed our wearied vision, since we left England was the Eastern coasts of Ceylon. We gradually approached them during the day, and at sunset of that day, the mountains bearing West about 4 miles, their outline presented an interesting object. On the morning of July 8, the Indian Continent was visible from the mast head—at noon we perceived the trees and villages. The colouring of the scenery was very striking—the pinkish blue mountains, surmounted some by forts and towers, in the distance lesser eminences, clothed with Palm trees, and sprinkled, here and there, with clusters of huts, in the middle ground—the long line of yellow beach, the dark blue ocean, with its breakers, in the foreground, and the clear serenity of the azure sky, combined to impress ideas not unfavourable of the climes of India. Many native fishermen appeared on their catamarans. These are rafts composed of two, three, or more, spars of wood lashed together; the centre spar projects beyond the rest and forms a stem, and it is usually sunk below the others, so as to form in the middle a hollow space to contain fish, provisions, and other articles. These catamarans are commonly about eight or ten feet long, and three broad: sometimes carry a triangular sail, but generally are propelled by paddles. Two, three, or four natives kneel on them, holding paddles formed of the halves of split bamboos, which they grasp with both hands in the centre, and introduce now one end, now another, on the different sides of the catamaran. They even venture on these apparently frail machines out of sight of land. Instances are common of their being attacked by sharks, who leap at them from out the water.

The native boats used in the intercourse of the ships and shore in Madras roads, in the transmission of the articles of trade, etc., are called Massoolah Boats. They are flat-bottomed, have high sides, and planks sewed together by string formed by the fibres of the cocoanut. Their

appearance is awkward and barbarous, but they are adapted to the passage of the surf, which is too strong and high for European boats.

I am, however, informed, that Capt. Pellew dashed through it, when employed on this station, in one of his own boats. Accidents not unfrequently happen by the upset of these Massoolah boats, but the blacks of the catamarans are dexterous in the prompt supply of assistance. They obtain, on such occasions, liberal rewards. One may, almost always, calculate upon a soaking from the spray, in the passage of the surf.

All the blacks, employed on the water, are in a state of nudity, a narrow piece of linen is the only semblance of a vestment attached to their body. They wear perhaps a covering for the head, a turban or some kind of cap. I always felt abhorrence at the yell of their boatsong—the sound of this, and the sight of their diminutive, black, meagre, naked bodies, reminded me of imps from the infernal regions. The joints of the fishermen are flexible as to suffer them to sit with the greatest ease upon their haunches, their legs bent as in kneeling, and their inner ankles, and inner sides of the feet, forming their seats. Their stature is small, their color black but not so deep as that of the African, their eyes lively—they wear, to a man, mustachirs, and use much gesticulation in their converse.

July 9. To-day the ship swarmed with a number of natives superior in caste to those just mentioned. They are Gentoos. They offer their services as *Dhubashes*, or servants, during the stay of the ship. They wear white turbans and robes. Some are very handsome, and their white teeth form a fine contrast with their dark skin, and still darker mustachies. They are pacific, obedient even to slavishness, and alert. They are deceitful and dishonest. They charge much more for the articles, which they procure you, than in the sequel they willingly receive. Perhaps they charge an overplus from the conviction that their bills will certainly be reduced. Whether this practice be the result of interested conduct first displayed by themselves or Europeans, I do not pretend to decide.

July 15. To-day I went ashore, accompanied by two friends. The moment we landed, we were pestered by a swarm of servants, numerous as locusts, offering their services, whom it was impossible to get rid of but by threats, and menacing gestures. The scene, to an Englishman first landed, is imposing. Every thing is novel, every thing obtrudes the idea of a subjugation as complete as one nation can possibly receive from another. The idea of dominion is inseparably attached to the whites—that of conquest, of ignorance, and of poverty to the natives. One rarely meets a native in his own carriage, or on his own horse, or even in a common palanquin—on the contrary it is much rarer to meet a white in any servile situation whatever. Nor is the treatment the blacks receive at the hands of Europeans

calculated to soften the idea of subjugation. So far as I observed it was at all times contemptuous, very frequently brutal. But I confine this remark to the conduct of novel Europeans, whose visits to the country are transient, and to that of newly arrived residents. I believe, that such as have long resided in the country, have discovered the good policy of kindness and humanity. We repaired to the "Madras Tavern" kept by a half caste woman, but superintended by an Englishman, named Taylor, who has since married the Landlady. It is a spacious building—the attendance is good, and the provisions of the best sort.

The houses here have large rooms, without glazed windows, but with valves, either Venetian, or of wicker work. The roofs are flat, the balconies numerous. We visited Fort St. George, but so hastily, and so late in the day, as to be unable to give any precise account from personal observation. It is very extensive, and impresses, at first view, an idea of strength. No seapoys I have yet seen, in size or figure, or port, realize my anticipations of their physical superiority. But they were attached, I fancy, to Veteran Battalia, which had seen much service. However, they suffer much by a comparison with the veterans of European armies. They are small, meagre, bowlegged, and cannot boast, unless my physiognomical discernment is puzzled by their color, that dignity of countenance, which characterizes an old soldier. I must say, however, that mine is an almost solitary opinion; and that they are, nearly by every body, admired as fine men.

They form a distinct caste. Their children are hereditary soldiers. They enjoy the reputation of great courage, and it is said that a party of Sepoys lately volunteered to storm a breach, from which a British regiment shrunk in dismay.

July 16. Early this morning we hired one horse chaises, called buggies, and visited the southern neighbourhood of the town. The great population of this country is evidenced by the multitudes of natives, which throng the streets, and suburbs.

The European servants of the Company, whose offices of business are contained within the walls of Fort St. George, possess country residences in the vicinity of the town. To these they repair after the business of the day. They call them Garden Houses. They are numerous in this quarter, and are elegant buildings. But the flatness of the country, the apparent sameness of the surrounding pleasure grounds, and the dark colored chunam, wherewith the houses are plastered, gave them, to my vision, a mournful aspect. We returned to breakfast at the Tavern: after which, about ten o'clock A.M. myself and two friends hired a buggy and a horse, for Poonamalee, on a visit to the officers of the 34th Reg. who had been our shipmates, and whose gentlemanly conduct, and intelligent conversation, all on board regretted

deeply to lose. Poonamalee consists of a village, and small native fort, about fifteen miles S.-W. from Madras. It is by no means a strong fort; but to native undisciplined troops, might perhaps be an object of importance. The village lies close to it. I was gratified whilst strolling about the village, by the quiet, unassuming manners of the natives of both sexes, and of all ages. In the bazaar, or market place, might be obtained either the fruits and rarities of India, or the nick nacks of an European hardware, and toy man. The children were very playful, and the parents much pleased by any attentions, or praise, paid to them. With but one or two exceptions, I saw no beautiful features of countenance, no elegance of form in any of the natives. We experienced a most hospitable reception from the officers: a generous tiffin was directly prepared to which we did not fail to do practical homage. In the course of the day we surveyed the fort—at 3 o'clock, a parade took place of all the detachments at this *Depôt*. The barracks are situated on that side of the fort opposite to the village. It was an animating and affecting sight to behold a mass of English soldiers, as gay, and as spirited, as they are seen at a parade in England, so many thousand miles from their native country, and in a state of complete security amid the hordes of a conquered empire. Nor were my sensations of the magical nature of this scene at all diminished at the mess, prepared at 7 o'clock, in the *Depôt* mess room, a light and airy building, in the cool of the evening, the stars twinkling from a clear and placid sky, through the open doors and windows.

The mess was very rich, combining the delicacies of the East, with the luxuries of Europe and we were animated by the music of a regimental band—this was of the first order, but I suspect that the auditory sense, testified, in common with the rest, the potency of the generous libations of wine, and that few in the room could long distinguish "God save the King" from a Highland reel. Indeed, Poonamalee is notorious for the excesses committed by our newly arrived officers. It is their first halting place on the road to the interior—here they first experience the miseries of this overwhelming climate, and the force of the temptation to ebriety, which thirst, and a paralyzing languor create. And I believe that here is laid the foundation of many a lasting disease and many a death: the constitution of a great majority being unequal to so violent a change of diet and habits.

The critical period, on which depend the health and life of the European is on the first arrival in this country. If he maintain command over his passions, preserving an inviolable systematic temperance, and due observation of peculiar rules laid down by experienced persons, he has a chance of life—if not, I know not what can save him from diseases, which sooner or later, will embitter or destroy existence.

At 10 o'clock the gates of the Fort are barred nightly, so that at this hour we were compelled to retire from the dinner table.

Having returned to the fort, and smoked a few cheroots in the viranda, we each retired to a profound rest.

Whether there were no mosquitoes at this place, or whether the vinous narcotics of the evening rendered us insensible to their stings, I cannot decide. It is certain, which I can affirm of no future night during a stay of six months in this annoying climate, it is certain there was great difficulty in rousing us to breakfast at an early hour, after an uninterrupted and deep repose.

1817. August 22. New Anchorage mouth of the River Hooghly—Bengal. We have been moored here about ten days. The south-west monsoon wafted us from Madras in the space of about five days. A clear blue sky, and a fresh breeze rendered this short voyage very pleasant. The navigation to the mouth of the Hooghly, and of its course up to Calcutta, is intricate and dangerous; and a system of pilotage has been established in consequence by the Company. This service is hard but lucrative. I understand boys are sent out from England, who have been educated expressly for this profession at Christ Church school. They pass through the lower grades of the service as leadamen, etc., and rise slowly, and after strict examinations to the command of a Pilot Vessel.

We lie opposite Cudjeree—I think the River about eight miles wide, at this part—but we are much nearer the Eastern bank than to Cudjeree from which first we are distant more than two miles. No hills are to be seen—a straight level coast wooded to the water mark, is our uninteresting prospect. The country eastward of the Hoogley consists of innumerable islands, formed by creeks, of which many are deep enough for ships of great burthen, but so narrow, and meandering in such sudden turns, that their navigation is defeated.

It was the opinion of Mr. Chew, the oldest branch pilot, that the creek opposite Cudjeree might be made to form an excellent dock for ships needing repair. There is not a dock nearer than Calcutta—to reach this, ships of great burthen must be lightened entirely; nor then have they water to spare. Nor have the Company a dock along that great line of coast intervening between Bengal and Bombay.

Diamond Harbour, twenty miles higher up the river, was, until this season, the anchorage of the Company's largest Bengal Ships. But the sandy bed of the river varies, from time to time, and it is deemed unsafe to convey higher ships of a greater burthen than nine-hundred tons. Diamond Harbour has ever been deemed an unhealthy station. The new anchorage, I am told, during the south-west monsoon, is not unhealthy, but easterly and south-easterly winds are said to induce disease and mortality.

The natives, which have come aboard, excel those I saw on the

Coromandel coast, in intelligence, in their acquaintance with the English language, in the form of their bodies, their features of countenance and the dignity and grace of their demeanour. Provisions and other articles are cheaper than at Madras. The people seem less avaricious, and cunning. They are very fond of tobacco. Not a boat comes alongside but somebody is sure to be seen upon his haunches, smoking out of what our sailors call their hubble-bubble from the gurgling noise made at each inspiration. A hollow ball, perhaps made of a cocoanut, contains water to a certain height—a tube to which is affixed the bowl of tobacco, communicates with the interior of the bowl of water. They apply their lips to a little hole drilled in the ball above the water mark. These instruments pass round for alternate gratification, just as our countrymen do their tankard. The hookah, smoked by Europeans, has its smoke equally cooled, but it is conveyed through a very long tube. The tobacco of the hookah is mixed up with various ingredients, the combustion of which always produced to me a smell disagreeable and sickly. But the hookah-smokers are inconceivably attached to them.

The gurgling noise of the hookah is also unpleasant, and hostile to that soothing influence, that tendency to abstract contemplation, manifested in the use of tobacco, under any other form.

CALCUTTA.

October 23. Half of the seamen, attended by appointed officers, embarked in three boats, this day, for Calcutta. It is customary, in these ships, to allow the crew three or four days freedom to see Calcutta. This is their only period of freedom during this tedious voyage. I accompanied them. We left the New Anchorage at six in the evening, Oct. 24. We arrived at Calcutta near midnight: a distance of about 80 miles. The country between the town and river's mouth is level—no part is visible, but the vicinity of the banks of Diamond Harbour I have spoken above—its distance from the new anchorage, and the burthen of the ships moored here during their stay in Bengal. This Harbour is formed by an expanse of the river. The Harbour Master's house is situated on the eastern bank. A few huts are near it, and a black town is distant, I am told, from it a mile. I know not that there is more than one European besides the Harbour Master in this neighbourhood. So isolated are the Whites, officially employed, over this great country. A similar officer superintends the moorings at the New Anchorage: but he resides aboard the mooring vessel. There are two Europeans at Cudjeree—a master-attendant and a post master, and a circumstance connected with them presents a singular trait of character in the human mind. Who would imagine that

men so compelled, as it were, to harmony and friendship, would be downright enemies? Such, I am told, they are.

Three kinds of boat are used on this river—The dingey—the paunchway—the budgerow. The general principles of their construction, are, I believe, similar, and these are but names applied to the vessel in its different grades of rudeness or perfection: The last is the most convenient, and the completest boat. The first the roughest. They are sharp, stem and stern. They rise more or less abaft and commonly their rudders are formed of great paddles attached to a perpendicular pole in the stern. Paunchways conveyed our soamen. These have a deck, which can be made entire—when thus, I should not fear much to be upset in one. The rowers sit upon their haunches forward—abaft is the steersman or manjee. Betwixt is a canopy, in the form of a hut, having either an angular, or round summit. The anchor is a great stone firmly enclasped by two or three sticks whose extremities project beyond the stone.

About midnight of the 23rd we anchored near the shore in Diamond Harbour, at the return of the ebbtide. The high spirits of the sailors elevated by freedom and grog, evinced themselves during the night in songs and riot.

We weighed at daybreak of the 24th, and proceeded. North of Diamond Harbour and on the eastern bank, we passed the village of Fultah, and a handsome tavern kept by an European. Further, on the western bank, the village of Willoby—whose atmosphere was contaminated by the effluvia of a putrid carcase near the huts—I presume the olfactories of the natives habituated to ammoniacal odours. They all seemed at ease. Still higher, another village, and tavern called Budge-budge, is seated on the eastern bank, commanding a picturesque expanse of the river.

Here the night approached: and the howls of jackalls, especially from the left bank, were prodigious. I fell asleep and was awaked by the information that we had reached Calcutta.

The moonlight view of this celebrated city produced sensations describable with difficulty. The shadowed walls of Fort William frowning over the eastern bank—the darkened foliage of the esplanade, running parallel to the river, and uniting the fort, with the town, still higher up the river, the white fronts of the buildings on the Sulky side of the stream reflecting the moon beams and the multitude of ships, presented a combination of interesting images. Let him imagine it, who has ever pondered the marvellous nature of our Indian empire—the achievements of a Watson, or a Clive.

Oct. 26. Government house is a great pile of massive architecture; more European in appearance than any other building I saw in the country. The paucity of virandas, and the proportionate smallness of the windows

* Sakha.

distinguish it from the generality of buildings in India, as well as its great size, and magnificent air.

Calcutta has been truly called, I know not now by whom, "a city of palaces." Such are the majority of European houses. In the native suburbs you may endure any degree of offence to the senses you may desire.

The comparison of European luxury with native indigence, and degradation in this part of the empire is most irresistibly forced upon the mind.

The moralist views it with pain—unaccustomed to measure the dignity of man by external appearances, and believing in the natural equality of all men (an equality perfectly consistent with subordination) and in the common grandeur of their immortal destiny—he cannot but lament a system, however it originated, wherein so complete a line of demarcation is drawn between one race and another. Their physical contrast is very great: the moral is wider still. A wide basis for invidious comparison is presented by arts, science, morals and religion. Poverty and hardship are contrasted with affluence and ease—with power and splendor, ignorance with knowledge—and an abject, debilitating superstition, with the ennobling and animating doctrines of Christianity.

Octob. 31. An intelligent elderly native, a master grammatically of the English language, of courteous manners, and dignified physiognomy, was thrown in my way to-day. He is sircar to a Banyan. He laboured to convince me that his religious sentiments differed not fundamentally from those of Xtians. His belief in the Unity of the Deity, in the existence of a mediator, in the immortality of the soul, and a future state of retribution, established, he said, the essential identity of the creeds. I asked him why he refused intercourse with Christians, since he believed their religious creed. He said he dreaded the mockery of his countrymen. I told him as a lover of truth, which he professed himself, he was bound to follow her in sunshine and in rain. He said he could not deny it. He often attended the divine service of the Christians, and wept during its performance. His caste was forbid the use of animal food—I asked him the reason. Because it involved the infliction of pain. The same tender principle induced to the reconciling of enemies, interposition between combatants, and universal charity to men.

He extolled the English—did not appear to repine at European dominion: and stated the superior condition now maintained by the Hindoos to that endured under Mahomedan despotism, whose destruction he gratefully attributed to the English.

What would follow a belief of the castes rejecting animal food in the Darwinian theory of vegetable sensation?

The natives, which eat animal food, will not partake of any slain by

Europeans. I have seen them aboard stab the ship's company's bullocks, when they were anticipating a portion. And dreadful gashes in the throats of the poor animals they make; yet I have known them to eat birds shot by some of our party in the ascent of the river, provided they cut their throats themselves afterwards. The heat may not have left the body—the limbs might have been convulsed—but they must have known that virtually the animals were not killed by their hands. If an European touch the pot in which they cook their victuals, it is defiled, and victuals and all thrown away.

Of their morals I have not seen enough to form a judgment thereon. One circumstance surprized me; I know not whether to attribute it to an individual character of honesty or a strict espionage of police. I have repeatedly accompanied a friend shopping in Calcutta, whose chatta boy, (the person carrying an umbrella over one's head) would obtain credit for his master to a considerable amount, although the boy could not himself perhaps muster a rupee. The boy said he was responsible for the payment.

The huts of the blacks are most wretched hovels composed of a framework of sticks covered by rushes meshed. These are the walls. The roofs are thatched. They contain one or two apartments for the whole family. These have no floors, either of wood or stone. They exhibit a deplorable appearance of a want of comfort. The disposition of the masses of huts in this place is curious. Perhaps in a space formed by the surrounding walls of three or four Europeans' gardens, shall be found a whole village, if I may term thus the cluster with its tank, grassplot, and garden ground.

But the ignorance of this people is not attended by vanity, the usual concomitant of ignorance. They allow to Europeans a superiority in every science except that of music. Of this the noise is similar to the effect of an ill-played bagpipe and two or three children's drums purchased at a village fair in England.

The stature of these blacks, like that of the inhabitants of the coast of Coromandel, is diminutive, but their countenance is finer, and their form more elegant. I speak of the men: of the women, some are plain, some are ugly, the majority hideous. They are very diminutive, having an inclination to the right side, and consequent projection of the left hip, produced by a custom of carrying their infants on the projection of this hip.

This day I attended divine service in the morning at the church of the Baptist missionaries. Dr. Carey, Professor of Languages at Fort William, preached a controversial sermon on the proper mode of Baptism. He baptized an European lady, and seven or eight half-caste females. The congregation was small, composed partly of Europeans, partly of half-caste natives, and a very few direct natives.

Oct. 28. Our first division of seamen returned to the ship. They had

indulged in every species of excess, but one man only was too ill to quit Calcutta. I conveyed him to the General Hospital. This building is situated near the Fort which intervenes between it and the river. It is airy and spacious and if scenery be an object in the treatment of patients, the verdure and the foliage of the surrounding area must inspire lively ideas. It is free of access to whites and natives, of the last three only were in the building. They have an overweening faith in their own doctors.

Saturday, November 1st. I visited the Company's Botanic Gardens. They are situated on the western or Sulkey side of the river somewhat more than a mile below the town. Dr. Wallack* superintends them. Unfortunately very few flowers were visible, as this is the cold season of this climate. The plants and trees are most magnificent and elegant, but want of time, and of an intelligent director, abridged the period of my admiration, and hurried me back to Calcutta.

SERAMPORE.

Sunday, November 2. I rose before day break, and in company of a friend, hired a punchway for Serampore, a Dutch Settlement, on the western bank of the Hooghly about 16 miles north of Calcutta. The Baptist Missionary society has here established the head-quarters of its missionary servants. But this resulted from necessity, rather than selection. Upon the first arrival of the Missionaries in this country, some, of whom one was Dr. Carey, had penetrated the interior, and on their return found themselves prohibited to preach the Gospel at Calcutta. The Dutch Settlement of Serampore extended its benevolent protection—and here has since continued the chief missionary institution. This town is seated on the delightful bank of the river immediately opposite Barrackpore, and its splendid military edifices, and spacious plantations. The houses of the Europeans at Serampore lie parallel to the river, from which they are separated by the high road. I think the river less than a half mile wide. We arrived at the inn, which is kept by a Frenchman, about one P.M. The house is spacious, but not kept in the cleanest state. Behind the inn is situated a Roman Catholic Church. Admonished by the bell, I entered. The building is small: and the sight of its interior gave me the same kind of impression as is produced by a halfpenny peep into a show-box at a fair in England: such was the collection of pictures, and silks and tassels of silver and spangles of gold. How can the natives be expected to credit the superiority of the Christian religion, when they behold such a mass of puerile baubles in the temple of God?

* Nathaniel Wallich (1785—1854). A Danish Surgeon, who in 1817 was appointed Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanic Garden. See Buckland: *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

In the evening I was gratified by a spectacle of a different nature. Having drank tea at the Revd. Dr. Marshman's, at the Mission House, I attended divine service at the missionary church, and witnessed the administration of the sacrament by the Revd. Dr. Carey: who addressed the native communicants in their own tongue. Perhaps about a dozen natives, men and women, received the sacrament.

The gentlemen attached to this missionary institution reside in a cluster of connected buildings: Drs. Carey and Marshman, the Revd. Wm. Ward, Mr. Pearce who has recently been appointed to the office of Printer and the Superintendent of the paper manufactory. The literary reputation of the three first gentleman is fully established. To his profound acquaintance with the oriental tongues, Dr. Carey adds, I understand, a masterly knowledge of the natural history of the East.

Monday, November 3. Before breakfast, I traversed his gardens. I saw likewise his aviary containing some very lovely, and some very rare birds. Among the last was a Toucan and a bird of Paradise.

The missionaries eat their meals together. I breakfasted with them and their ladies: and afterwards was politely conveyed by Mr. Pearce round the different departments of the institution—the paper factory—the printing house—the type foundry—the Bengalee school for natives. It is not easy to express my sensations on the sight of this interesting and great monument of the effects of perseverance in a righteous cause. I saw in the Press-room the sacred scriptures in Marhatta, in Siamese, in Chinese, in Bengalee, and in more languages than I can remember: the results of the studies and labors of but five and twenty years. My imagination was involuntarily hurried through future ages, and I never beheld the importance of human actions so embodied, (if I may use this word) as when I found myself standing at that fountain-head, whence the rivers of truth and of salvation will flow and fertilize all Eastern Asia—and in the company of those great and good men, whose incessant labors are directing and channelling their streams. Let him who prefers the *utile dulci*, who can discriminate betwixt splendor and happiness, who feels that men are brethren, and believes in their immortality, say which he would contemplate with most delight, the battle of Assye, or the Mission House at Serampore.

This town is not fortified. A small battery fronts the river, but it is appropriated to salutes and too weak for the purpose either of attack or defence.

Instances frequently occur of the evasion of creditors at Calcutta by a refuge in this place. The banyan of an officer of the *Charlotte* decamped, whilst I was in Calcutta, with money and merchandize of that Gent. to the amount of nearly four thousand pounds. Others were defrauded to a less

amount. This scoundrel, it was ascertained, had resorted to Serampore and little hope is fostered of any retribution. The black town is extensive and the huts are disposed in very picturesque groups beneath the lofty trees.

Having taken leave of the hospitable Christians at the Mission House, we embarked—and by the aid of the tide and our oars, reached Calcutta in three hours or less. The scenery on each side of the stream is peculiar and interesting. The greatness of the population of this country struck us when we saw the whole western bank lined by huts. Numerous pagan temples and pagodas break the uniformity of the scene—wide flights of massive stone steps descend from them into the sacred river, to facilitate the ablution of the votaries. As we rowed along, on the Sunday morning, the number of natives thus devoutly bathing in the stream, was prodigious: of all ages and each sex.

They do not strip themselves of their scanty clothing. We passed a group of very fine females lounging on the steps of a temple, and bathing. Their stature was greater than that of the Hindoo women—their color was less dark—their form and expression of countenance noble and elegant. Were they Mahomedans retaining more than usual of their original through their descent? I saw two poor wretches, of the Gentoo caste, brought to the border of the river, to be borne away by the returning tide. They lay covered on their beds—whilst an attendant on each constantly poured the sacred water of the river into their mouths. This merciless caste, when a sick wretch is deemed incurable, convey him to the water's edge—and perpetually pouring the water over his face, and into his mouth, till the tide reaches the spot, they suffer him to be borne away—to be the food of alligators, perhaps whilst yet retains sufficient sensibility of this most horrid aggravation of their last agonies. How many of these unfortunate victims might be preserved from dissolution, even in this land of ignorance, and under the care of their own besotted fellows, cannot easily be guessed.

We only know that in the most civilized countries, an invalid is not unfrequently consigned to despair even by physicians of science and experience, who yet recovers, to the falsification of their grave prognosis. One instance occurred of the restoration to health of a Gentoo thus barbarously devoted to destruction. Dr. Hare, a celebrated Physician at Calcutta has the reputation, and the self-applause of this success. This custom, I was informed by a gentleman of authority at Serampore, proceeds from sheer inhumanity. These barbarians embrace this method to get rid of a fellow creature, who cannot shift for himself, and is become a burden to them. Common sense and human feeling demand a peremptory interposition on the part of a Government which professes to be composed of Englishmen.

November 4. I returned with the second division of seamen to the ship

We left Calcutta about noon. Many of the men were drunk—many stupid—many lively. One man only had deserted—who was afterwards taken. He had joined another vessel.

November 5. We reached the New Anchorage about 2 P.M. Near Culpee, a village on the eastern bank, below Diamond Harbour, stands a pyramidal monument, said to be erected to the memory of the first English lady that died in this country, since so destructive to thousands. I could not inspect the edifice closely, nor ascertain the correctness of this queer story.

November 6. At 2 A.M. I embarked in a budgerow in attendance on a sick friend and inmate for Calcutta. The budgerow is a boat of a very convenient description. The forepart is occupied by the rowers—the after part by the steersman—and the central by a cabin for the passengers. Its ceiling is elevated above the deck of the boat—its floor depressed below it—so that one enjoys room, and light and air are admitted through venetian blinds on all sides.

November 8. At day break we were not higher than Diamond Harbour—the winds and tides had opposed us strongly the whole of the preceding day. We soon reached Fulta, the village mentioned previously to be situate on the eastern bank of the river. The Tavern here is kept by a Dutchman who consoled us by a most sumptuous breakfast, for which we paid two rupees each. The village lies close to the garden walls of the inn. The women here were dressed more neatly and gracefully than any whom I had previously seen—and they were nearer in their approaches to beauty than the majority of Hindoo females. They were almost all courtezans. * * * *

In the evening we again embarked, and reached Calcutta at day break of November. 9.

The officers of Customs examine the baggage of persons, who have ascended the river—but they are not rigorous, and their timidity is doubtless often taken advantage of by the boisterous and bullying European.

To-day I visited the celebrated Black Hole. It is a room in the Old Fort: Fort William being of modern construction, and a mile distant from the other.

The old Fort is now converted into offices, store rooms, etc., and our Purser has been employed many days in weighing copper on that very spot, where perished the victims of the barbarous Surajah Dowled. The door was locked, but I stooped, and looked beneath it, and saw with horror the grated window, at which the illfated captives gasped for air. That window looks into the high road and opposite it, and near the extremity of the Writers' Buildings is erected a monument to commemorate the cruelty, and the vengeance it subsequently received. It is a plain pyramid, supported by a

quadrangular base—on the western face of which is an inscription that "the cruelty of the Rajah was amply revenged in the sequel." It is a mean monument. Milburn, in his *Oriental Commerce*, says it has "a design in sculpture on each of its sides, and an inscription in the English and native languages, describing the occasion on which it was erected. It is surrounded with an iron railing to prevent access to it, has shrubs planted about it, and exhibits an appearance not unsuitable to the event, which it is intended to commemorate". Milburn's book was published in 1813. I saw no sculptured designs on either face of the pedestal:—no inscription in the native language—no iron railing, nor shrubs: and so far from its exhibition, in my opinion, of a "not unsuitable appearance" it appeared totally unworthy of the universal interest excited by that most hideous event: nor does it seem to have arrested the attention of the natives—none of whom I inquired, could point out the Black Hole close to it.

This destruction of the captive English occurred in 1756: and such of our countrymen as had the lucky fortune to evade the enemy, left the Fort, and sought a temporary but secure asylum at Fulta.

The Esplanade affords in the cool of the evening a grateful resort. It runs parallel to the river between Fort William and the town, and Government House lies west of it.

Sunday, November 10. This forenoon I attended divine service at the Cathedral: a handsome and airy building—it presented a sight rare in England, a congregation of genteelly dressed persons without one exception.

In the afternoon I traversed one of the European burial-grounds, of which there are three situated near the Chouringhee Road, at the eastward end of the city. The monuments are all splendid—regular mausolea—built with bricks covered by chunam—a native plaster giving them as handsome an appearance as stones. Of the epitaphs I could discover none on males, who had survived the age of sixty-four. Three or four alone had approached that period: the majority had perished between ages of thirty and forty. The females had died generally between the ages of twenty and thirty—many, and they, perhaps, married ladies under the first age. Of infants, a great number lay here entombed; and the grandeur of their monuments equalled that of the adults. The epitaphs, whether in prose or verse, were universally paltry—as vulgar as on the gravestones of English plebeians. These monuments present a most curious appearance at sunset. The adjutant birds are seen stationed on the summits of the tallest and most pyramidal tombs, motionless as the structures they surmount, having selected positions which architectural taste, I fancy, could not improve.

They are equally happy in their selection of perches on the houses in the city. These birds are very large having long necks,—disproportionately large bills—small eyes—long legs—with a great pouch at their throat, at times dangling disgustingly—at times contracted and invisible: in this pouch they deposit their food. Red pole—chest white—belly also white.—white nape of neck. They usually stand, with the neck sunk into a shrug of the shoulders, as roughly sketched.* It is punishable to destroy these birds, since they contribute to the destruction of vermin about the City.

The Brahman kites, deemed sacred by the natives, the adjutant and crows, swarm in Calcutta in the gardens, on the houses, in the streets. One of the black servants of the Captain here says he saw an adjutant in the compound (the area surrounding the house) swallow a rat—that he deposited him in his pouch, and that the rat soon ate its way through the membrane, and ran off.

In the evening of this day, I attended divine service at the Baptist Missionary Church. The Revd. W. Ward, the learned publisher of several works on subjects of Hindu Literature, preached.

Saturday, Nov. 15. I embarked with an officer of another ship on board a Paunchway at 7 P.M. and reached the ship in a little more twenty-four hours—our passage was favoured by the north-east monsoon. The population on the banks of the Hoogly southward of Calcutta is much less than that northward of the city. However, if there are fewer living, there are many dead specimens of natives. Human bones and skulls lie scattered along the shores whitening in the sun. There is no difficulty attached to the ascent of the Hoogly to Calcutta, on the part of the Police, but on our descent of the River we were twice boarded by peons.

* A pen sketch is given in the MS.

(To be concluded.)

Early History of Bengal—II.

DHARMAPĀLA came to the throne on Gopāla's death. In Babu Ramaprasād Chandra's work, the *Gaudarājamaṇi*, there is a learned and exhaustive discussion of the evidence furnished by different inscriptions with regard to the date of Dharmapāla's accession, the upshot of which is that he must have come to the throne near the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A. D. The outstanding fact of Dharmapāla's reign is his conquest of Kanauj.

It is clearly established by the concordant testimony of several inscriptions of sovereigns, not only of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, but also of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan, and the Pratihāra dynasty of Western India, that Dharmapāla deposed the King of Kanauj, Indrayudha, and set up in his place one Chakrayudha, who, thereafter, stood in a relation of subordinate alliance towards Dharmapāla.

From a verse of the Khaliṃpur Pāla inscription, already quoted, which recounts that a number of different races of North-Western, Western, and central India had to agree to the selection of Chakrayudha by Dharmapāla, as ruler of Kanauj, Babu Rakhaldas Banerji has concluded that Dharmapāla must have conquered and overrun, not only the country of Kanauj, but also what are now the Panjab and North-Western Frontier Province, Sindh, Malwa, and part of Rājputāna. This is, I think, a very hazardous inference, but we may reasonably believe that, at the time of his conquest of Kanauj, Dharmapāla's prestige must have stood very high in Northern India.

The elevation of Chakrayudha to the throne of Kanauj was followed by hostilities between the Pratihāra chief Nagabhatta II, successor of Vatsa, and Chakrayudha, who was supported by his overlord Dharmapāla. In a Pratihāra inscription found at Gwalior it is claimed that Nagabhatta defeated both Chakrayudha and Dharmapāla. Dharmapāla appears then to have turned for aid to the Rāshtrakūṭa King Govinda III. An inscription of Govinda's successor, Amoghavarsha I, represents Chakrayudha and Dharmapāla as submitting to Govinda. It would not be safe to rely on the evidence of Pratihāra and Rāshtrakūṭa writings only with regard to these transactions, but, as they are not mentioned at all in the Pāla inscriptions, it is safe to assume that they did not enhance the Pāla prestige. Babu Rakhaldas Banerji infers from two Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions that the Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III defeated the Pratihāra Nagabhatta II and drove him back from Kanauj, that, thereafter, Dharmapāla and Chakrayudha were left in undisturbed possession

of their territories, and that the Pratiharas did not permanently acquire Kanauj till the time of the great Pratihara king Mihira or Bhoja I.

Mr. Vincent Smith, on the other hand, thinks that it may be presumed that Nagabhata transferred the headquarters of his government to Kanauj, which continued to be the Pratihara capital for many generations. The point is, perhaps, doubtful, but I think that there is no evidence of Pratihara occupation of Kanauj as a capital, in the shape of a Pratihara grant dated from that place, before the reign of Mihira Bhoja.

Llama Taranath says that Dharmapala reigned for 64 years. Babu Rakhal Das Banerji considers this to be impossible, but his reasons for rejecting the statement are not clear. A copper-plate grant of Mihirabhoja found at Daulatpura in Jodhpur State, is dated from Kanauj in the year 843 A. D. This is, of course, not conclusive evidence that, at that date, the Pratiharas had made Kanauj their permanent capital—it may have been only a temporary occupation. The date referred to would fall in the reign of Dharmapala, if we accept Taranath's statement that he was on the throne for 64 years, and take 800 A. D., as about the date of his accession. If we reject Taranath's evidence as to the length of Dharmapala's reign, we have the Khalimpur inscription, as proof that he was on the throne for 32 years at least, that inscription being dated in the 32nd year of his reign. We have similar proof in the Monghyr inscription of his successor, Devapala, that Devapala ruled for at least 33 years. Therefore, if we take 800 A. D., as the approximate date of Dharmapala's accession, we must conclude that the year 843 A. D., when Mihirabhoja was, undoubtedly, in occupation of Kanauj, fell either in the reign of Dharmapala or in that of Devapala, but, as I have said, we do not know how long that occupation lasted.

The fact is that there is still much uncertainty as to the dates of the first Pala Kings, and the vicissitudes of the fighting between them and the Pratiharas. It is, however, pretty clearly established that Dharmapala came to the throne about the beginning of the ninth century A. D., that, shortly after his accession, he conquered Kanauj, and established a temporary suzerainty over that country, and that, subsequently, there was a prolonged struggle between the Pratiharas and the Palas of Bengal, as well as the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan, with whom the Palas were often allied. This struggle went on, probably with vicissitudes of fortune, and, no doubt, with intervals of peace, we do not know exactly for how long, but it resulted in the Pratiharas establishing themselves permanently at Kanauj at some time in the ninth century, and, probably, also, in their conquering some part of Magadha, and of Tirhut. Dharmapala, it appears, was a reformer of the Buddhist religion. During his reign, and with his encouragement, a commentary on the *Prajnaparamita*, one of the principal religious books of

the Mahayana school, was written by an eminent Buddhist scholar named Hari Bhadra.

Dharmapala married a Rashtrakuta princess named Rannadevi, which is not surprising, considering his political relations with the Rashtrakutas.

He was a beneficent and popular sovereign, if we may judge from the statement in the Khalimpur inscription that he used modestly to bow his head, and turn it to one side, when he heard his praises sung by the village cowherds, the children at play, and even the parrots in their cages.

He was succeeded by his son Devapala, on whose reign some light is thrown by a grant of his own, dated from Monghyr, or Madgagiri as it was then called, in the 33rd year of his reign; by a grant of Narayanapala his grandnephew and next successor but one, dated also from Monghyr in the 17th year of Narayanapala's reign, and by the inscription on the well-known Badal pillar erected by Gurava Misra, Prime Minister to Narayanapala, and great grandson of Darbhapani, who was Devapala's minister. All of these records agree in representing Devapala as a warlike king. The Monghyr grant of Devapala speaks of his war elephants penetrating the Vindhya Mountains, and of his war horses visiting the country of the Kambojas, from which they took their origin. Narayanapala's Monghyr grant says that Jaypala, who may have been a younger brother or a cousin of Devapala, went out to conquer, at his bidding, and the lord of Utkala, hearing Devapala's name from afar, fled from his capital, while the Lord of Prāgiyotisha, accepting Devapala's commands, remained in peace and friendship. There has been some controversy, arising from an obscurity in a passage of this inscription, as to the relationships of Devapala and the Jaypala mentioned here to one another, and to Dharmapala. It was at one time held by some authorities that Devapala and Jaypala were sons of Dharmapala's younger brother, Vakpala. The Monghyr grant of Devapala, however, distinctly refers to Dharmapala as his father. Babu Rakhaldas Banerji and Mahamahopādhyaya Haraprasad Sastri hold that Devapala was Dharmapala's son, and that Jayapala was Vakpala's son and Devapala's cousin. Babus Ramaprasad Chanda and Akboy Kumar Maitra take Devapala and Jaypala to have been both sons of Dharmapala, Devapala being the elder. The former view seems to be supported by a manuscript book in the India Office Library in London, entitled "*Chandogya Parisishta*," in which there is a reference to the performance of the *Śrāddha* ceremony of Vakpala, by his son, Jaypala. I am not sure whether the word in Narayanapala's grant describing the relationship between Jaypala and Devapala will bear the meaning of "cousin" as well as that of "brother." This point I must leave to better Sanskrit scholars than myself to determine. In the Badal inscription it is said that Devapala rooted out the race of

Utkala, and humbled the pride of the Huna, Dravida, and Gurjara Kings. We have, however, no certain information about these hostilities. Both Babu Ramaprasad Chanda, and Babu Rakhaldas Banerji take the mention of a Dravida King in the Badal inscription as referring to a King of the Rashtrakutas, Babu Rakhaldas Banerji takes this King to be Amoghavarsha I, successor of Govinda III. At page 57 of his work on the Palas of Bengal he quotes, as referring to relations between Devapala and the Rashtrakutas, the Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarsha, in which it is stated that he was honoured by the Lord of Vanga, Anga, and Magadha. Babu Rakhaldas Banerji, apparently, here interprets this as meaning that Devapala was reduced to submission by Amoghavarsha. But at p. 59 of the same work Babu Rakhaldas Banerji takes this same passage as referring to relations of Amoghavarsha, not with Devapala, but with either of his next successors, Vignapala I or Narayanapala. He takes the Gurjara King to be Ramabhadra I, predecessor of Mihirabhoja, pointing out that no victories are ascribed to Ramabhadra in Gurjara inscriptions. Babu Ramaprasad Chanda, on the other hand, takes the Gurjara King to be Mihirabhoja himself and the Dravida Krishna II, son and successor of Amoghavarsha I of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. He quotes a passage from a grant of the Rashtrakuta Krishna III, which refers to Krishna II as "teacher of humility to the Gaudas" and to his having made Anga, Kalinga, and Magadha obedient to his commands. If this passage relates to hostilities between Krishna II and Devapala, its account of them is in singular contrast with that of Gurava Misra in the Badal inscription.

Babu Ramaprasad quotes also, in support of his view, two inscriptions of the Kalachuri dynasty of Cedi,—a dynasty, which was founded at some time in the 9th century A. D. by one Kokkala, and held sway over a portion of what are now called the Central Provinces, south of the Nerbudda River. This dynasty, also known by the name of Haihaiya, is much connected in history with that of the Chandelas of Jejakabhukti, the country between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, now called Bandakhand, who came to the front about the same time, their founder being one Nannuka Chandel, who overthrew a Pratihara chieftain, and became lord of the southern part of Jejakabhukti. There is a grant of the Kalachuri King Karna, bearing date 1042 A. D., found at Tevar near Jubalpur, the ancient Tripuri, in which it is said of Kokkala that his arm relieved of fear Bhoja, Vallabharaja, and Sriharsha, Lord of Chitra Kuta, and a stone inscription found at Bilhari says that Kokkala, "having conquered all the world, founded two peerless monuments of fame, on the south the eminent Krishnaraja, and on the north Srinidhi Bhojadeva."

No doubt, the Vallabharaja referred to in the Tripuri inscription is the

same as the Krishnaraja mentioned in the Bilhari inscription, namely Krishna II of the Rashtrakuta dynasty, also called Vallabha, or Krishna-vallabha, who married Kokkala's daughter, and the Sriharsha of the first inscription is Harsha Chandela, who was chief of Jejakabhuti at the beginning of the 10th, and perhaps, also, in the latter part of the ninth century A. D. Babu Ramaprasad Chanda takes the Bhoja mentioned in both inscriptions to be the Gurjara-Pratihara Mihirabhoja, or Bhoja I. His theory of the meaning of these inscriptions is that the Pratihara Mihirabhoja, Kokkala Kalachuri of Cedi, Krishna II. Rashtrakuta, and Harsha Chandela of Jejakabhukti combined to resist the ambitions of Devapala of Gauda. On the other hand, Babu Rakhaldas Banerji would have it that the Bhoja of these inscriptions is Bhoja II of Kanauj, and that they allude to assistance given by Kokkala to him in his contest with his half-brother Mahipala for the succession to the throne of their father Bhoja I. It is impossible to say whether this theory, or that of Babu Ramaprasad Chanda is correct, in the absence of clear evidence as to the dates of accession and the lengths of the reigns of Dharmapala and Devapala. Both theories may be examined in the light of any further evidence that may come forth. But, in connection with Babu Ramaprasad Chanda's theory, it may be noted that we have evidence in inscriptions that Vighrahapala or Surapala, the nephew and successor of Devapala, married a daughter or grand-daughter of Kokkala. Such an alliance might very well follow on the making of peace after hostilities between Devapala and the Rashtrakutas and Kalachuris. Babu Rakhaldas Banerji suggests that the Kambojas mentioned in Devapala's Monghyr grant may be the same as the Hunas referred to in the Badal inscription referred to. The name Kamboja, however, is applied in Sanskrit literature so far as I know, to races of the Mongolian family inhabiting Thibet and the Himalayan regions, and the general belief, which is accepted by Babu Rakhaldas Banerji, that in the tenth century A. D. northern Bengal was invaded by Mongolian tribes from the north, perhaps now represented by the Koches, Meches, and Palias of that part of the country, who established a kingdom there, is based chiefly on an inscription at Dinajpur stating that a temple was dedicated to Siva by a ruler of Kamboja race. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the Monghyr grant refers to hostilities between Devapala's forces and people of Thibet and Bhutan or Himalayan or submontane tribes of Mongolian race; the reference to warhorses being an allusion to the fact that horses or ponies were imported to Bengal from Bhutan and Thibet then, as they are now.

Pragjyotisha, mentioned in the Bhagalpore grant, is, of course, the capital of the kingdom of Kamrup, which occupied the site of the modern Gauhati, and Devapala's political relations with Kamrup may, very possibly,

have been connected with his military operations against the hill tribes to the north-east of Bengal. Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri has brought to notice that, in a religious work entitled *Dharmamangala*, of which two recensions, of the 13th and 17th centuries respectively, have come down to us, it is stated that Kamrup and Kalinga were conquered for Devapala by Laosena, the son of his sister-in-law, who ruled at a place called Mayana in Midnapore district. This may perhaps be regarded as some confirmation of the statement in the Bhagalpore grant that Devapala made a successful expedition against Orissa, of which country Utkala and Kalinga are synonyms, and also of the allusion to Pragyotisha in that inscription, although Laosena is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions, and the account given in the *Dharmamangala* is, obviously, in part, at any rate, mythical. The Mahamahopadhyaya also points out that, about the time of Devapala, Orissa was passing through a revolution. The chiefs of the Somavansi dynasty there were oppressing the Brahmins, who were anxious to overthrow them and bring in the Kesari dynasty. This would have given a favourable opportunity for attack to the Pala King.

It is not certain who the Hunraja mentioned in the Badal inscription was. The name Huna seems to have been borne at this time by different tribes, no doubt descendants from the Hun invaders of the 5th century, who were settled in Rajputana and Central India. There is also an interesting inscription, found at Ghosrawa near Budh Gaya, which shows that Viradeva, a learned Brahmin, who came from near Jallalabad, in what is now Afghanistan, was educated in the Buddhist faith at the Kanishkavihara at Peshawar, lived at Ghosrawa under the patronage of Devapala, and was subsequently elected by the monks of the great monastery of Nalanda, to be their abbot.

Devapala was succeeded on the throne by Vighrahapala I also called Surapala I, son of Jaypala, who, as mentioned above, may have been either, younger brother or cousin of Devapala. Of the career of this Vighrahapala or Surapala nothing is certainly known, except that, as already mentioned, he married a Kalachuri princess, Lajjadevi, who may have been a daughter of Kokkala, the founder of the Kalachuri or Haihaiya dynasty of Cedi.

He was succeeded by his son Narayanapala. There is at Gaya an inscription recording the erection, in the seventh year of Narayanapala's reign, by a person named Bhandadeva, of a monastery for Brahmanical ascetics at Gaya. A new edition of this inscription has been published by Babu Rakhaldas Banerji in his work above referred to. Then there is a short inscription on stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, but found, probably, also at Gaya, or in the neighbourhood, which records the erection of an image in the ninth year of the reign of King Narayanapala by a

Buddhist devotee named Dharmamitra. Lastly, we have Narayanapala's own grant, already referred to, dated from Monghyr in the 17th year of his reign, which records the donation of a village in Tirabhukti or Tirhut to a temple of Vishnu at a place called Kalasapata in Tirhat.

These inscriptions are of special importance, because we know generally that, about the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century the Pratiharas of Kanauj were pressing on the Palas of Gauda from the west, and there is evidence, furnished by several inscriptions found at Gaya and in the neighbourhood, that, at some time in his reign, Mahendrapala, or Mahendrayudha of Kanauj was in possession of some portion of Magadha. On the other hand, the two Gaya inscriptions relating to Narayanapala, which I have quoted above, prove that he was in possession of Gaya in the seventh, and, probably, in the ninth year of his reign, while Narayanapala's Monghyr grant proves that, in the seventeenth year of his reign, he was in possession, certainly of Monghyr, and probably also of some part of Tirhut. The inscription on the pillar known as the Badal pillar, near Mangalbarihat, on the eastern border of Dinajpur district, shows that it was erected by Guravamisra, Prime Minister of Narayanapala, whose father Kedarmisra was minister to Narayanapala's father Surapala or Vigrahapala I, and whose great-grandfather, Darbhapani, was minister to Devapala, also that Darbhapani's father, Garga, was minister to Dharmapala, and that thus the office was held by the same family under the Pala Kings for four generations.

According to the Pala genealogies, Narayanapala was succeeded by his son Rajyapala, who married Bhagyadevi, daughter of a Rashtrakuta chief, who had the title of Tunga. Babu Ramaprasad Chanda surmises that this was Jagattunga, son of Krishna II of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. Nothing more is known of the career of Rajyapala.

He was succeeded by his son, Gopala II, with regard to whom some information is furnished by two inscriptions. One found at Borgaon in Patna, the site of the ancient Nalanda, states that an image of the goddess Vagiswari there, was covered with gold-leaf by an anonymous benefactor in the first year of Gopala's reign. The other inscription, which was found among the ruins of the Mahabodhi temple at Bodhi Gaya, records the erection of an image of Buddha by a person named Sakrasena during the reign of Gopala, no date being mentioned.

These two inscriptions afford some evidence that Gaya and Nalanda lay within the dominions of Gopala II.

The next king of the dynasty was Gopala's son Vigrahapala II. There is in the British Museum, a manuscript, which purports to have been written in the 26th year of a king named Vigrahapala. Babu Rakhaldas

Banerji suggests, I presume on palaeographic grounds, that it refers to Vīratapāla II. If so, it would show that he reigned at least 26 years. We have no other information about him. He was succeeded by his son Mahipāla I. A copper-plate grant by this king found at Banagar in Dinajpur district, recounts that he defeated all his enemies and recovered his father's kingdom.

Mahipāla was the restorer of the fortunes of the Bengal Pāla dynasty, and his accession marks the beginning of what may be called a new chapter in the history of Bengal. It may be convenient, therefore, at this stage, to look back on the course of external events affecting the Pāla kingdom, or Gauda, during the period from the death of Dharmapāla to the accession of Mahipāla I.

We have seen that the great Gurjara king Mihirabhoja, or Bhoja I, conquered Kanauj, probably about the middle of the 9th century. This would be during the reign of Dharmapāla of Gauda, if we accept Liama Taranath's account that Dharmapāla reigned for 64 years. If not, it must have been during the reign of either Dharmapāla or Devapāla of Gauda. Bhoja I was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla or Mahendrayudha, the certain dates of whose reign, that is to say, the dates fixed by historical evidence as falling within his reign, are 893 and 907 A. D. From Mahendrapāla onwards the names of all the kings of the Parihar dynasty end in Pāla, and it becomes, in certain cases, a matter of difficulty to distinguish them from kings of the Gauda or Bengal Pāla dynasty, the same names occurring in several instances in both dynasties. Bhoja I must have died some time before the year 893 A. D. As we have seen, there is evidence that Mahendrapāla added some part of Magadha to his dominions. He was succeeded by his son Bhoja II, who was succeeded by his half-brother Mahipāla. As the certain dates of Mahipāla of Kanauj range from 914 to 917, the reign of Bhoja II must have been completed between 907 and 914 A. D. In the meanwhile, the Chandela kingdom of Jejakabhukti, in the modern Bandakhand, and the Kalachuri or Haihaiya dynasty of Cedi, represented by part of the modern Central Provinces, about Jabalpur, had had been rising to power. About the year 831 A. D., during the reign of Dharmapāla, Nannuka Chandel, the founder of the former dynasty, had overthrown a Parihar chieftain, presumably a feudatory of Bhoja I, and become lord of the southern parts of Jejakabhukti. There is a difference of opinion as to whether Harsha, a successor of Nannuka, and Kokkala, the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Cedi, were contemporaries of Bhoja I or Bhoja II. They were certainly contemporaries of the Rashtrakuta King Krishna II, the successor of Amoghavarsha I.

Turning now to the Rashtrakuta dynasty, there is some evidence, in a

Rashtrakuta grant of Krishna III, of hostilities having taken place between Krishna II and Gauda. Krishna II, whose epigraphic dates range from 902 to 911 A. D., was succeeded by Indra III, who, in the year 916 A. D., during the reign of Mahipala Parihar, invaded the Gurjara kingdom, crossed the Jumna, and occupied Kanauj. In order to do so, he would probably have had to pass through the territory of Harsha Chandela of Jejakabhukti, who, we find it stated in a grant of his son Yasovarman of the year 954, formed an alliance with the Parihar King Mahipala, whom he helped to recover his kingdom.

What part, if any, was taken by Gauda in this contest between the allied Parihars and Chandelas on the one hand, and the Rashtrakuta Indra III, on the other, is not clear.

Babu Rakhaldas Banerji quotes from a work entitled *Karnataka Sabdanusāsana* by Bhatta Kalankadeva, according to which Narasingha, a feudatory of Indra III, pursuing the fugitive Mahipala, bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges, and infers that, at that time, the Gurjara-Pratihara empire extended as far as the Bhagirathi River, and down to its junction with the sea. He assumes also, on the strength of a Dinajpur inscription, already referred to, that, from the death of Narāyanapala to the accession of Mahipala I of Gauda, the whole of Northern Bengal was in possession of Kings of Mongolian race.

This would leave only Central, and possibly, some of Eastern Bengal to the Bengal Pala King of the time. On the other hand, we know that Gopala II of the Bengal Pala dynasty was in possession of some part of Magadha, including probably Nalanda and Gaya. Babu Rakhaldas Banerji surmises that, at the time of the defeat and expulsion of Mahipala Parihar of Kanauj by Indra III Rashtrakuta, Gopala II of Gauda may have succeeded in recovering Magadha, which may have been lost again to the Gauda dynasty, when Mahipala Parihar recovered Kanauj with the help of Harsha Chandela. This theory, however, seems to rest on a somewhat slender foundation.

I am not sure whether the junction of the Ganges referred to in the *Sabdanusāsana* is its junction with the sea or with the Jumna, and, in either case, allowance must perhaps be made for poetic exaggeration. The stone inscription of Yasovarman Chandela, already referred to, the date of which is 954 A. D., describes Yasovarman as a sword to cut the Gaudas like a creeper, and destroyer of the power of the Mithilas, that is, the people of Tirhut. Another Chandela inscription dated 1002 A. D., refers to an invasion of Anga or south-eastern Bihar and Rāḍa or western Bengal by Yasovarman's successor, Dhanga. From the evidence available, it seems a reasonable supposition that the Chandela dynasty of Jejakabhukti, who had first risen to power in opposition to the Parihars of Kanauj, afterwards formed an

alliance with them against the Rashtrakutas, and that the Palas of Gauda, following their traditional policy, allied themselves with the Rashtrakutas against the Parihars, and so came into collision with the Chandelas. The reference to the Mithilas in Yasovarman Chandela's inscription just quoted seems to show that, in his time, Tirhut either formed part of the dominions of the Pala Kings of Gauda, or was ruled by their feudatories or allies.

Then, as to the Kamboja invasion of Northern Bengal. Reference has already been made to an inscription found in the ruins of Banagar in Dinajpur showing that a temple there was dedicated to Siva by a ruler of Kamboja race. The date of the dedication is given in the inscription in the form of a chronogram, which probably means the number 888, and this is conjectured to refer to the Saka era, which would give the date 966 A. D. It is evident that the Mongolian invasion, which resulted in the establishment of the dynasty to which the Kamboja King, the dedicator of the temple, belonged, must have occurred some time before. Babu Rakhaldas Banerji argues from the existence of the Badal pillar, erected, as its inscription shows, during the reign of Narayanapala, that the whole of Northern Bengal was in the undisputed possession of Narayanapala, and he further concludes, from the Banagar temple inscription, that, at the end of the 10th century A. D., the whole of Northern Bengal was in possession of the Mongolian Kings. Neither conclusion seems to me to be established with any degree of certainty by the evidence. Although the site of the Badal pillar, near Mangalhari Hat, and Banagar, where the temple inscription referring to the Kamboja King was found, are both in the Dinajpur district, the two places are separated by a considerable distance—about 25 miles—the former being near the eastern boundary of the district, and the latter near Gangarāmpur police station on the Purnabhaga River, about the centre of the district. It is not, therefore, absolutely impossible that the Kamboja dynasty may have been already established at Banagar at the time of the erection of Badal pillar. On the other hand, we have no certain knowledge of the extent of the dominions of the Kamboja dynasty in question. The mere attribution of the title Gaudeswar to the Kamboja King, who dedicated the temple, does not prove that he ruled over the whole of Northern Bengal, though it may be taken as evidence that his dominions in that part of the country were fairly extensive. Banagar seems to have been an important strategic point. At a later period it was the site of a frontier post of the Muhammadans, in the earlier stages of their gradual conquest of Bengal. All that can safely be said of the Banagar temple inscription is that it proves the existence in Northern Bengal of a Kamboja dynasty of kings, whose kingdom included Banagar, pointing to an invasion of a tribe or tribes of Mongolian race, who may probably have come from Thibet or Bhutan, and that, if the date of the inscription

has been correctly interpreted, the invasion must have taken place fairly early in the tenth century. It is also clear that the invaders settled down permanently in the country, and that they adopted the Hindu religion. It is neither surprising that such an invasion should have occurred, nor that we should have little certain information about it. Mr. Vincent Smith has remarked that Hindu writers display great unwillingness to dwell on barbarian invasions, and it is natural that such incidents should not be described in detail by the court scribes, who drafted inscriptions.

In an inscription of Mahipala of Gauda, it is stated that he recovered the kingdom of his ancestors, which had been usurped and extinguished, which is evidence that, at the time of his accession, the fortunes of his dynasty had fallen low, but we are not sure as to the causes of this. Very probably, it may have been due both to the attacks of Parihar and Chandela enemies from the west, and also to incursions of Mongolian tribes from the North. As I have already said, Bengal was exposed to invasion from Thibet and Bhutan. The latest example of this is the invasion of Koch Bihar by the Bhutanese in the eighteenth century. The Bhutanese practically took possession of Koch Bihar, and controlled the government for some years, but the Maharaja of Koch Bihar appealed to the British for help, which was given, and the Bhutanese were defeated. The latter then turned to the Thibetans for assistance, and, on the Thibetans mediating, a treaty was concluded in 1772, under which Koch Bihar was restored to the Maharaja, who became tributary of the British, but the Bhutanese remained in possession of a considerable extent of flat country along the foot of the hills, till 1865, when it was annexed by the British in the last Bhutan war, and it now forms part of Jalpaiguri district, being known as the Western Duars.

In order to illustrate the supposed chronology of these earlier Pala Kings of Bengal—a matter regarding which there is still much uncertainty—the annexed table shews side by side the succession of the Gurjara, Pratihara or Parihar Kings, beginning with Vatsa, with the known epigraphic dates of some of them, that is, the dates fixed by inscriptions as having fallen within their reigns; the succession of the Rashtrakuta Kings, beginning with Govinda III, with the epigraphic dates of some of them, and the succession of the Pala Kings of Bengal beginning from Dharmapala, with the supposed or conjectural dates,—for it is really a matter of guesswork, in the present state of our knowledge—of the accession of some of them.

Llama Taranath says that Dharmapala reigned for 64 years and Devapala for 48 years. We also know from an inscription of Narayanapala dated in the 17th year of his reign that he reigned at least 17 years. It will be clear on reference to the table that, if we accept Taranath's statements as to the duration of the reigns of Dharmapala and Devapala, and take 800 A. D. as the date of Dharmapala's accession, then the conquest of Kanauj by

the Parihars under Mihira Bhoja may probably have occurred during the reign of Dharmapala of Gauda, any war waged by Devapala with the Parihars must have been against Mihirabhoja or one of his successors, Mahendrapala or Bhoja II, and not against Ramabhadra, as supposed by Babu Rakhaldas Banerji, and the defeat and expulsion of Mahipala Parihar of Kanauj by Indra III Rashtrakuta, which probably took place in 916 A. D., must have occurred either in the reign of Vighrapala I or Surapala I of Gauda, or in that of Narayanapala. In that case, too, the accession of Mahipala I of Gauda would probably come somewhat late in the tenth century A. D., three reigns having intervened between Narayanapala and him, which would fit in with the theory that he succeeded in ousting from Northern Bengal a Kambojan dynasty, by whom a temple was dedicated in the Dinajpur district in 966 A. D.

On the other hand, it is somewhat improbable, though not, of course, impossible, that two successive Kings, father and son, should have had such long reigns as 64 years and 48 years respectively, and this improbability may perhaps have led Babu Rakhaldas Bennerji to reject the statements of Taranath referred to. Rejecting them, we have it still established by inscriptions that Dharmapala reigned for at least 32, and Devapala for at least 33 years, and we may thus adopt the alternative dates for the Bengal Pala Kings shown in the table, and suppose, with Babu Rakhaldas Banerji, that Devapala of Gauda was contemporary of Ramabhadra Parihar, and Narayanapala of Bhoja I. This would still make it fairly probable that Mahipala I of Gauda succeeded to the throne late in the tenth century A. D., especially if we suppose, on the strength of the manuscript in the British Museum, to which reference has been made, that Vighrapala II of Gauda reigned at least 26 years.

Pālas of Bengal.	Probable approximate date of accession.	Pratihāras or Parihāras.	Epigraphic Dates.	Rāshtrakutas.	Epigraphic Dates.
	A. D.		A. D.		A. D.
Dharmapāla	800	Vatsa	...	Govinda II	794-813.
Devapāla	864 or 840	Nāgabhata Ramabhadra	...	Amoghavarna I	817-877.
Vighrapāla I or Surapāla I	912 or 880	Mihirabhoja or Bhoja I	843	Krishna II or Krisnavallabha	902-911.
Narayanapāla	...	Mahendrapāla or Mahendrayudha	893-907	Indra III.	914-916.
Rājyapāla	930 or 900				
Gopāla II	—	Bhoja II.	907-914		
Vighrapāla II	946	Mahipāla	917		
Mahipāla I	970				

F. J. MONAHAN.

Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.

THE following document I believe has been removed from the Collector's Record Room at Chittagong and sent for preservation and exhibition to the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta :—

To JOHN REED, Esq., Collector of Chittagong.
Sir,

PORT WILLIAM,
18th November 1773

We transmit inclosed, agreeable to the annexed List twelve warrants from the Nabob upon the judgment of the Nizamut Adawlut for the punishment of criminals in Chittagong. These you will deliver to the officers of the Fawadari Adawlut in order that they may be carried into immediate execution.

We are,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

WARREN HASTINGS.

W. ALDERSEY.

P. M. DACKES.

JAMES LAWRELL.

J. GRAHAM.

GEORGE VANSITTART.

ABSTRACT OF THE NABOB'S WARRANTS.

<i>Prisoner's Name.</i>	<i>Crim.</i>	<i>Judgment.</i>	<i>Sentence.</i>
Toofanee ...	Decoyting.	Guilty.	To be confined in chains for three years.
Dhun Mangoe ...			
Harres ...			
Mahtab ...	Decoyting and murder.	Guilty.	Death.
Heera ...	Theft and an attempt at murder.	Guilty.	Fifty strokes of the Corah and to be set at liberty.
Luckun ...	Decoyting and murder.	Guilty.	Death.
Dacia ...	Ditto.	do.	Do.
Kooresh ...			
Chaodgorolah ...	Decoyting and murder.	Guilty.	Three years imprisonment.
Bunsha ...			
Tarak ...			
Attak ...			
Duspall ...			



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH: CALCUTTA.
SHOWING THE NEW APSE.

(Note. The black tablet shown in the floor before the altar railings marks the burial place of Bishop Middleton.)

<i>Prisoner's Name.</i>	<i>Crime.</i>	<i>Judgment.</i>	<i>Sentence.</i>
Noanoe ...	Decoying and murder.	Gilty	Death.
Newam ...	House-breaking.	Not guilty.	To be released.
Lovdes ...			
Mus Rame ...	Decoying.	Gilty.	Right hand and left foot to be cut off.
Roostum ...	Do.	Not guilty.	To be released.
Ajpal Cawn ...	Manslaughter.	Gilty.	To be fined.
Mahomed Yamm,	House-breaking	Gilty.	50 strokes of the Cane, and to be set at liberty.
Futteh Mahomed.			
Ameer Mahomed.			
Taker ...			
Shoni Mahomed.			
Dhameen ...			
Jewgee ...			
Charud ...	Decoying.	Ditto.	Right hand and left foot to be cut off.
Yacoub ...			

It does not appear that the Government of India has of late years has had occasion to complain of extravagance on the part of the junior members of the Civil Service, but the following notification perhaps should not be lost sight of:—

To all the Gentlemen Writers
in the Company's Service.

FORT WILLIAM,
9th November 1767

GENTLEMEN,

I am directed by the Hon'ble the President and Council to acquaint you that the undermentioned extracts from the proceedings of the Committee of Inspection are entirely approved of by them, and that they expect an implicit obedience be paid to the directions therein contained.

I am, etc.,
SIMON DROZ,
Secretary.

VIZT.,

- 1st. With respect to the servants necessary to be kept by a writer without a family, the Committee are of opinion that he should be allowed two and a cook; one for the immediate care of his house

and charge of his effects, and another to attend him when he goes out or to assist in the charge of his effects and house in case of sickness of the other

2nd. It is recommended that an order be issued that no writer shall be allowed to keep a horse without the express permission of the Governor and be permitted either of himself or jointly with others to keep a garden house.

3rd. It is further recommended that the writers be enjoined to wear no other than plain cloathes.

True extracts.

SIMEON DROZ,
Secretary.

Colonel Alexander Dow, as a person of considerable interest, is honoured by an article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I have recently discovered that he and John Stables formed part of the "Meckley" [*i.e.*, Manipur] expedition of 1761. The following extract from the Dacca Factory Records (so-called) is worth keeping in view:—

DACCA,

November 1763.

Wednesday 9th. At a Council, Present. John Cartier, Esq., Chief, Ralph Leycester, Esq., and Mr. Thomas French.

The consultation of the 1st instant being read was approved and signed. In consequence of our address of the 2nd instant to the Hon'ble Board representing the unsettled and confused state of the Rungpore Province, and the Government there still holding out against the Nabob Meer Jaffer, likewise imprisoning them of the confinement of Mr. Moore, an English agent; we have been favored with their orders this day, which are: that we send a detachment of troops into that country to seize the Phousdar if possible, and to subdue it in the name of the Nabob Meer Jaffer. Agreed that Lieutenant Dow, with four Companies of seapoys, with a Howitz, be appointed for this Service, and that a sufficient number of boats for the embarkation of the troops be provided with all expedition, and that a sum of money amounting to ten thousand rupees be lodged in the hands of Mr. Dow, for pay and batta to the troops and other contingent charges; and that the order be given to Mr Dow to the purport of the Hon'ble Board's Letter, *vis.*, that the command he is now trusted with is with the following views: to subdue the country and to restore peace and tranquillity by fixing the

officer appointed to act by the Nabob as Phousdar in his full power and authority; to release whatever English gentlemen may be in confinement, and to seize the person of the late Phousdar. All of which being effected, he be ordered to return with his detachment to Dacca.

And now to return to the "Meckley" or Manipur Expedition. It belongs to the period when Harry Verelst, subsequently Governor at Fort William, was Chief of Chittagong (1761-63). Little, or practically nothing at all, in reference to this expedition has transpired. I gather that it was under the command of Archibald Swinton, for whose personal history the reader should consult my Notes in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. II, pp. 238-39. A Dalrymple in the second volume of his *Oriental Repertory* (London, 1808) gives an account of "Meckley" which he describes as "from my friend Mr. Orme's MSS, though brief, is the most circumstantial I have seen of that country, a few notes have been added from my friend Captain Archibald Swinton, who flatters me with the hopes that he shall be able to give some further account from his papers, which are in Scotland." The account is by one "Nether Dass Gossain Fukeer," who in September 1762, in company with a Subadar and seapoys, was despatched by Swinton "in order to confirm, or detect the falsity of the strange account of Meckley by Hurree Dass Gossain." The writer evidently had formed the idea that the Brahmaputra sends a branch through the Meckley country into the Burmah country.

In my Notes in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XII, pp. 102-105, I described the principal changes that have been effected in the building of St. John's Church since the date of its Consecration in 1789 to the year 1863 when a chancel was added. Since the date of writing some further changes have been made: (1) The eastern wall has been taken down, and an apse has been thrown out; the chancel being thereby enlarged. (2) The western gallery has been removed, the quaint "geometrical" stair cases being, however, retained. The lovely Colvin monument (with the famous figure of the seated Indian woman), and John Adam monument have been removed and placed on either side of the enlarged entrance to the Church at the west end. So soon as funds are available, the former east window will be inserted at the east end of the southern aisle. It is hoped that some day it will be possible to cover the interior of the new apse with glass-mosaic work, and one of the most eminent of English architects has already submitted a scheme. St. John's Church is intimately connected with the family history of so many distinguished public servants in India that it cannot be

doubted that this note will be of some interest to many of our readers in England. The Chaplains will gladly receive donations in order to enable them to complete the work.

The following interesting note appeared in the *Statesman* of 2nd January 1917:—

"A party of members of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi, headed by Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, has unearthed the remains of a large fifteen century mosque at Mahisantosh, three miles to the south of Balurghat in the district of Dinajpur. A stone inscription preserved in the well known *Darga* of Mahisantosh tells us that a mosque was built by a nobleman in the reign of King Barbak Shah, of Gaur, in the year 1461 A.D. about 200 yards to the south-east of the *Darga* was a jungle-covered mound which was popularly known as *Burdwari*,—the house with 12 doors. A few stones and pillars were visible on this mound. Babu Devendragati Ray, a member of the Society, first dug out parts of the two of these pillars and a prayer niche, and invited the Society to excavate the mound systematically. As a result of the excavation carried on during the Christmas holidays, the Society has unearthed the remains of a mosque which is evidently the mosque referred to in the inscription now preserved in the *Darga*. It was 80 feet 3 inches by 52 feet 8 inches outside, with an octagonal tower at each corner, and walls 6 feet 10 inches thick. The mosque had eleven and not twelve openings. The pulpit and the five prayer niches were made of beautifully carved stone. A short inscription on two of the stone pillars written in eleven century script discloses the name of the temple-bullder. In their excavation and exploration work the members of the Society have been greatly assisted by Maulvi Abdul Aziz B.A., the Sub-Divisional Officer of Balurghat, Babu Nalini Kanta Adhikary, B.L., Babu Sheshprakash Sanyal, and the indefatigable Babu Devendragati Ray, and their staff, and other representatives of the zamindars of the sub-division. The Society will request Dr. Spooner, Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, to make arrangements for the preservation of what still remains of the mosque."

In Volume III of *Bengal: Past & Present* will be found (pp. 326-341) an account of the delightful visit paid by the Society to Pandua and Burdwan in the year 1909. Opposite to p. 336 will be found a photograph by Mr. C. F. Hooper of Shīr Afghan's tomb at Burdwan. Maulavi Abdul Wali

in a paper on the antiquities of Burdwan, read on the 3rd of January before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, now tells us: "as the body of Qutub-Din was removed to Fathpur Sikri by order of Emperor Jahangir, his tomb at the courtyard of Pir Bahram's Shrine could not be genuine." Was the body of Shir Afghan left undisturbed? The Maulavi pointed out in his paper that "the inscribed slabs of Pir Bahram Saqqa's tomb now fixed into one of the walls of the same have been deciphered and translated. The date of Bahram Saqqa's death has been correctly shown to be 970 H.=1562-63 A. D. and not 982 as published by Blochmann." I may point out that an English translation of the tablets, with the correct date, appears on p. 332 of Vol. III *Bengal: Past & Present*. We missed an opportunity of seeing the Jami Masjid built in 1699-1700 A. D. by order of Sultan Azimush-Shan.

At the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to which we have referred, Maulavi Abdul Wall read papers on some of places of interest, one of which is Bhitargarh in the Hughli district. A description of this place was given by Colonel Crawford in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. II, pp. 294-97. (Please correct error as to reference in the Consolidated Index). The following resume of the Maulavi's paper is of interest:—

It has hitherto been believed that the inscribed slab on Shah Ismail Ghazi's tomb at Bhitargarh contained an account of warfare between two Rajas, one of whom built the tomb. The author has shown from the inscription that this was not so. The inscribed slab was either fixed or intended to be fixed over one of the triumphal gateways and was removed after it had fallen or pulled down. The inscription shows that it was inscribed in 900 H. = 1494-95 A. D., during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Abul Muzaffar Husayn Shah. Correct texts of inscriptions on both the gateways at Shishbandi or Mubarak Munzil show that they were constructed in 1142 and 1143 H., respectively by order of Nawab Shujaud-Daula on his accession to the throne of Bengal after the great Murshid Quli Jaffar Khan in 1139 H.; but according to Blochmann's text of one of the inscriptions, the former gateway was constructed in 1136 H., which is impossible. This mistake has been continued in the official Gazetteer of Hugli.

The following extract from a lecture on old Calcutta delivered many years ago by Mr. R. C. Sterndale should be placed on record. There may seem to be a mistake about Peter Amyatt for Amyatt was massacred while

on an embassy to Mir Kasim in 1763, but at that time it was the custom to be dismissed from the Company's service and yet to remain in employment :—

There was another direction in which the Company's officers secured valuable property to themselves and their heirs or assigns, to the undoubted loss of the Government, and this was in the appropriation of the town lands at nominal rates of rent. The grant of perpetual leases was in the hands of the Collector, and a reference to the original leases, which are still preserved in the Calcutta Collectorate, will show that nearly every one who held office in those days secured valuable plots of land for himself or his friends. One or two examples will suffice to illustrate this. In 1761, Peter Amyatt, at that time Collector of Calcutta, afterwards Chief at Patna and Benares, and eventually dismissed the service, allotted to himself 285 biggahs of land in the parish of Chitpore at a rent annually of less than one rupee per biggah; while Mr. George Vansittart obtained about 632 biggahs of ground in the Dhee Birjee—that is, the block now lying between Middleton and Short Streets, Chowringhee and in Circular Road. A portion of this he afterwards sold to Mr. Short. The rent was Rs. 789 per annum, redeemable at fifteen years' purchase, say, Rs. 12,000 for the entire holding. But the present value is not less than one-and-a-half millions of rupees. Even at the day, Clive, who did all he could to check the rapacity of his colleagues and subordinates, saw what was going on, for he says "he had reason to believe that great injustice was being done to the Company, and that if the gentlemen who parcelled the lands among themselves did not acquire large advantages, it is certain that the servants acting under them did. He further notes that he finds that the Calcutta lands may in a short time be made capable of yielding to the Company between fourteen and fifteen lakhs per annum. If that be the case how reprehensible is the conduct of those gentlemen who so shamefully neglected the interests of their employers." At that time the Company's rent-roll for the Calcutta lands was Rs. 17,745 only.

The following extract from General Letter from the Court of Directors, dated the 11th February 1756, throws some light on the practically unknown history of Northern Calcutta :—

Para. 65.—We observe you have made a purchase of the Seats* of a

* The Seths—not belonging to the famous banking house, but the well-known Seths of Calcutta who were weavers. They and the Bysacks were the earliest settlers of this city.

Compound and some godowns for the sum of four thousand nine hundred Current Rupees, which as you represent to be very commodious for Warehouses and Magazines. We must presume to be a necessary and good bargain. It appears also you were in Treaty to *Rent a Spot of Ground called Similia*, for the sum of two thousand two hundred and eighty-one Current Rupees, and as for the reasons you give it seems to be necessary and advantageous to the settlement. We shall leave it to you to compleat the bargain if it is not already done.

From the recently issued Part I of the Annual Report, 1914-15, of the Archaeological Survey, we learn with pleasure that the Gaurant mosque at Gaur is to receive adequate attention. The Report shows that some very great improvements has been effected in connection with Ser Shah's tomb at Sassaram. It used to be quite a puzzle to find one's way into the building. Hundreds of Calcutta folk pass by Sassaram—the "loyal city"—every year on their way to or from Mussoorie, and perhaps hardly half-a-dozen even so much as look out of the window to catch a fleeting glimpse of one of the noblest monuments in India—the colossal domed mausoleum of the great Ser Shah. How many Calcutta people realise that in the Indian Museum in Chowringhi we have some of the most interesting stone-carvings of antiquity—the fragments of the Barhut Stupa?

From a note by my friend Mr. S. C. Sanial, I learn that the artist Zoffany arrived at Kedgerie on the 11th of September 1783 on the *Lord Macartney*. This date puts out of all question the fable that Zoffany painted a portrait of Madame Grand, for that Lady left India in December 1780. On December 3rd, 1783, Sir Elijah Impey left Calcutta. So the portrait of the Chief Justice, preserved at the High Court, must have been one of Zoffany's earliest works in this place. It is a curious fact that Impey, who arrived in England in June 1784, remained Chief Justice of Bengal until his resignation was accepted in November 1787. The date alleged to be affixed to Zoffany's portrait of Impey "1782" cannot be accurate.

In the instalment of the Barwell Letters given in our last number there is (see above p. 101) an "Account of Maharajah Nund Comar." Sir James Stephen, in his *Story of Nunconiar and Sir Elijah Impey*, regarded this account as Barwell's own work. To me it seems clear that the Account is either a translation from Persian, or the work of one whose native tongue was not English. It has been suggested that the "account" is the work of either the Author or the Translator of the *Sair-ul-Mutaqherin*.

The establishment of the Bengal Historical Record-Room is an event of which no public mention has been made, but it is one which is likely to benefit in the highest degree the cause of research. Had the contents of the records been made available years ago the public would perhaps have been spared a good deal of the pernicious sort of nonsense which has too long passed for historical learning. The Record-Room has now published three volumes of its press list. Volume I gives an abstract of the proceedings of the Comptrolling Committee of Revenue at Fort William from April, 1771 to October 1772; Volume II the proceedings of the Committee of Circuit; Volume III, the proceedings of the whole Council from 13th October to 30th December 1774. The latter volume is a very rich quarry of historical materials, and the excellent index at the end will enable the student to make the best use of what has been provided for him. In addition to the volumes of the press list, the Record-Room have issued the following volumes* edited by the present writer —

Proceedings of the Select Committee, 1758.

Midnapur, Volume I	...	...	1763—1767
Ditto, " II	...	...	1768—1770
Rangpur, " I	...	...	1770—1779
Dinajpur, " I	...	...	1787—1789

A second volume of Rangpur papers is ready for the press. And here I may perhaps be allowed to say that the Government of Assam are very kindly enabling me to complete the publication of the Sylhet District Records, the first volume of which appeared in 1914.† A whole chapter of accidents might be recorded in regard to the printing of these last papers, for I had to take my furlough in 1911 when the work of printing was well in hand, and, during my absence, the changes in the East Bengal and Assam Administration led to a disaster in the press so far as my own work was concerned. During my furlough I was able to get a copy made of the Consultation Books of the Malda Factory, 1680-82. This is now in course of publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I should like to follow up the Malda Consultation Books by those of Calcutta for the period immediately following Job Charnock's return in 1690. The copying of these older books requires the hand of an expert, and it is, therefore, somewhat costly, but I am informed that the cost of the copying of the Calcutta books for the period mentioned would not exceed one hundred rupees.

January 1917.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

* Obtainable through Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., Esplanade East, Calcutta.

† Obtainable from the Assam Secretariat Book Room, Shillong, Assam.



THE ARMENIAN CHURCH AT DACCA.

The Armenian Church of the Holy Resurrection, Dacca.

A NOTE BY THE REV. S. T. SARKIES TRANSLATED BY THE REV.
G. JOHANNES.

IT is not known at what date the Armenians at Dacca first constructed a chapel. In 1781 they built the present church (on the site of the chapel) and it bears the following inscription on the front of the Sanctuary — "This temple (or tabernacle) was built in 1781." It is handed down by tradition that the following four gentlemen defrayed the cost of the building, *viz.*, Michael Sarkies, Asdvatsatour Govorg, Aga Emnias and Markar Pogose. The ground (site) was presented by Aga Minus Catchick.

The church is cruciform and without pillars. The walls are wide and solid, and the roof is flat, supported by wooden beams. The length of the church is 88 ft. the breadth 19 ft. and the height 27½ ft. The church has four doors and 27 windows (wooden or with glass panes). It has a gallery, which is reached by means of a wooden spiral staircase. Next to the western gate stands a massive heltry of about 86 feet in height, with 5 large bells. There was formerly a clock tower built by Johannes Carapiet Sarkies, facing the west end of the church, but this tower came down in the earthquake of 1897. The altar piece is composed of two pictures, representing the Lord's Supper and the Crucifixion, painted by C. Pote in 1849.

In the interior of the church there are six tombstones, the inscriptions on which are as follows:—

- I. This is the tomb of Soope (Sofia) the wife of Aga Catchick, the son of Emnias Minasian of Julfa, October 28, 1764.
- II. This is the tomb of Khatai, the wife of Aga Hovhan (Owen), the son of Aga Emnias of Julfa, who departed this life on the 18th September, 1766.
- III. This is the tomb of Dishkhoon, the daughter of Hovhan, the son of Aga Emnias Minasian, who departed this life in 1765.
- IV. Sacred to the memory of Arratoon Michael, Esq., who departed this life the 2nd of April, 1823. Aged 49 years.
- V. Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Susan Catchick Sethagasee, the only daughter of the late Arratoon Michael, Esq., who departed this life the 17th of March, 1827. Aged 39 years.

* An article on the Church of St. Namagh in Calcutta is in preparation.

- VI. Sacred to the memory of Nicholas Margat Pogose, Esq., who departed this life the 7th of December, 1829. Aged 62 years.

TOMBSTONES ON THE SOUTH-EAST OF THE CHURCH.

- I. This is the tomb of Gooltatick, the daughter of Parsadan of Erivan (a parish of Julfa) and wife of Michael, August 21st, 1752.
- II. This is the tomb of Ripsima, the daughter of Owen Khoja Minasian. September 2, 1753.

TOMBSTONES IN THE PORCH.

- I. "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again I leave the world, and go to the Father". Hovsep (Joseph) Varthapiet of All Saviour's Monastery of Julfa was sent as an envoy to India, and, when, having discharged his duties, he intends returning to the monastery, death suddenly overtakes him, on October 8, 1824.
- II. Sacred to the memory of His Grace Paul, Archbishop of the Armenian Church, who departed this life on the 24th of September, 1834. Aged about 55 years.

The church has a brass basin, which bears the following inscription:—

"In memory of Paron Lazar, the son of the late Grigor of Shuroth November 10, 1769"

INSCRIPTIONS ON TOMBSTONES OF ARMENIANS (7 ONLY) IN THE TESGAON CEMETERY OF OUR LADY OF THE ROSARY, 5 MILES DISTANT FROM DACCA.

- I. This is the tomb and resting place of Avietis the merchant, who was the son of Lazar of Erivan, whom may Christ at His Second Advent find worthy of His presence. In the year 1714 August 15.
- II. This is the tomb of Arakiel, the son of Catchick, who departed this life on the 8th of June, 1722.
- III. This is the tomb of Apcar, the son of Balthazar of Julfa, who departed to the upper world. He was a merchant for many years and died at an advanced age on the 14th June 1736.
- IV. This is the tomb of Michael the son of Grigor of the family of Khoja Minas of Julfa, who departed this life in the prime of youth, in the year 1740.
- V. This is the tomb of the merchant Khoja Thomanian, the son of Baydè of Akoolis (*a town in Trans-Caucasia*) who departed to the upper world on the 9th August, 1745.
- VI. This is the tomb of Michael, the son of Gabriel Barikian, who departed this life in the year 1781.

- VII. In this earthly and blessed sepulchre is deposited the body of Petros Matthevosian, who was an upright merchant, a native of the town of Hamadan. Death overtook him in his old age, and being a sojourner at Dacca, he departed from this transitory world to life eternal on the 3rd of Feb. (O.S.) 1794. May he be worthy of Heaven!

INSCRIPTION ON STEEPLE.

This magnificent (or fine) steeple was founded and erected by the means of and at the expense of Johannes Carapiet Sarkies, Esq., son of the late Carapiet Sarkies, Esq., to the honour and glory of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and in remembrance of all his ancestors of happy and blessed memory, in the month of July 1837, in the ancient capital of Dacca.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

In regard to the "Varthapiet of All Saviour's Monastery of Julla," the following explanation is drawn from Malachia Ormanian's *The Church of Armenia* [p. 116]: "The doctorate of theology, or rank of *vardapet*, is invested with the form of an order. It is divided into two classes: the minor or particular doctorate (*masnavor*), and the major or supreme doctorate (*danirakany*), which enjoys privileges equivalent to those of the episcopate. Doctorates can only be conferred by the Bishops, who are themselves invested with the supreme doctorate."

Charles Pote, the Anglo-Indian artist, referred to above, seems to have been a son of Edward Ephraim Pote, Senior Merchant in the Company's service. An interesting biographical note on E. E. Pote by the late Mr. William Irvine will be found in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. VI, pp. 172-76. Charles and Philip Pote were baptised at Berhampore on the 8th June, 1794 by the Rev. Robarts Carr, but the names of these two sons do not appear in the list of children of E. E. Pote compiled by Mr. Irvine from the Baptismal Registers in the Estates and Wills Department of the India Office.

In the *Eastern Bengal District Gazetteer for Dacca 1912* (p. 69) it is stated that the Roman Catholic (Portuguese) Church at Tergaon "was originally erected in 1679 and rebuilt in its present form in 1714."

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

Padre Maestro Fray Seb. Manrique in Arakan (1629-1635).

*Translated by F. COTTA.**

Annotated and Edited by the Rev. H. HOSTEN, S. J.

CHAPTER X.

HOW I LEFT BENGALA FOR THE KINGDOM OF ARRACAN.

[Continued.]

P. 34, Col. 1.

THE lands of the Ugulin are over three hundred leagues distant from those of Arracan. But, as we were travelling by the Ganges and in Gelils,² which are very swift boats, our Lord was pleased that we should reach the port of Dianga in fourteen days.³ Father Fray Domingos de la Purificaccon was there then, as Vicar de la vara ordinary of all those regions.⁴ Having heard that a Religious had arrived, he came to meet me at the port, and was so highly pleased at finding that I was a Religious of the same Religion [as himself] that he threw his arms round my neck, and was for a good while unable to speak to me, owing to the copious tears that he was shedding. When his emotion had subsided, he said to me / "Father and dearly beloved brother, be most welcome; for the last seven years I have not seen either a Religious or a Priest; and now God our Lord in His divine and infinite mercy has granted me what I so earnestly desired."

[25 Sept
1629.]

Col. 2.

The reason why the Father had been for so long a time companionless, was that great wars had taken place, owing to which one could not come over without great peril to life, or, under the most favourable circumstances, without being made a prisoner. To this impediment there was added another no smaller, a contagious disease that was raging in these lands, and owing to which numberless people perished, including three of our Religious, who were distributed over those parts.

Father Fray Domingos saw at once to my landing, and we repaired to the Church and Residence, which our Religion owns there.⁵ And immediately

* The chapters of Manrique now published have been translated by my friend Mr. F. Cotta. I revised his work carefully, and I only regret that the present state of my health does not allow me to annotate it as lavishly as the part hitherto published. Manrique's travels in Arakan are especially difficult to annotate: they place us before a new language, and in a geographical milieu, which only a scholar acquainted with the country could thoroughly cope with. Such as they are, we trust that these pages will prove attractive reading.

he sent a message to the Governor of the land, that another Religious had arrived. For reasons that I have already pointed out, the Governor was very much pleased with this news, and in the evening had me visited with an *adia*, or present, of various birds and fruits, and he despatched at once a courier to the King with the tidings, for it is the custom to advise the King at once of the arrival of any Portuguese.¹⁰

F. 35, Col. 1.

These things of my entry and arrival being over, the Father, finding time: read the letters which the Father Provincial of India had written to him. He found in them orders // enabling him to go to Goa, when he would have instructed me in the practices of those countries, and when Father Fray Manuel de la Concepcion would have arrived.¹¹ The latter was coming to serve with me in those Missions, until orders came to send two other Religious. When, after some days, Father Fray Manuel arrived, Father fray Domingos sought orders to depart, which he very much desired in order to cure himself of some fits which assailed him, caused by some urinary trouble, and which, when on, brought him to the brink of death. On account of this, his departure took place quicker than I should have liked.

Col. 2.

We were left very disconsolate, specially I. In addition to an interior unrest there came upon me a melancholy so extraordinary that, in spite of my best efforts, I was unable to conceal it, so that I myself was astonished at so novel an experience in me. On the other hand, the enemy of mankind represented to me how far I was from my country, fathers and brothers, and that I should see them no more, if I lived in those remote lands. Finding myself tormented thus, I sought the true remedy, having recourse to the divine help, and imploring our Lord to console me and to dispose of me to the best for His holy service. At once there came to my memory / that divine sentence of St. Jerome: *Per calcatum perge Patrem, per calcatum perge Matrem, ut sequaris Christum*. [If you want to follow Christ, step over your father and mother, and go]. This interior admonition very much consoled me, and I said to myself that it was not a mere chance, but that it was meant for me, as the trials that overtook me within less than a month proved.

The first, and the one which caused me most pain and sadness, was the death of Father Fray Manuel de la Concepcion, my companion, who within less than fifteen days gave up the ghost to his Divine Creator. There were serious indications that he had been poisoned by certain Gentiles, who lived at a short distance from the Church. It so happened that, while I was away, at a distance of three leagues, in the *Bandel*, or town (*villa*) of Angaracale, where we have another Church with its residence,¹² these Gentiles wanted to make a feast to one of their idols in thanksgiving for some good news; and, in order to decorate the Pagode, or house of their idol,¹³ they went to the houses of some Christians, natives of the soil, and asked for the loan of carpets,

F. 36, Col. 1.

silk draperies and other ornamental articles, with which to adorn the [Idol] and its house. Hearing of these things, Father Inay Manuel, moved by his zeal for the honour of God, prevented with the utmost diligence the said Christians from lending anything. He showed to them that they were not allowed to do it, for the honour that was due to God alone could not be given to the devil, // the same God and Master manifesting to us His will, when He says: *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*. [I will not give my glory to another].¹⁴

Col. 2.

The death of the servant of God was much felt by the Christians of those parts, both because of the void that it created, and because he was a very good religious, and well versed in the Bengala tongue. Some Christians wanted to mitigate this sorrow by killing two Gentiles, and it would have been very easy for them to carry this plan into execution, had I not prevented them, both because such vengeance is not lawful, and because there were not sufficient grounds for the suspicions. And, if there were, and legal proceedings were taken, the Mogo Governor¹⁵ would very easily have them / impaled. These reasons quieted them and the matter did not proceed further.

The unexpected death of the Father, my companion, threw me into great affliction, as I was running the risk of not having another so soon. It happened so, indeed: for, nineteen months elapsed before two other Religious arrived.¹⁶ Meanwhile, I was visited with the troubles which I shall relate in the following chapter. Throughout, though I had no human help, yet the chief, that is the divine assistance, was not wanting, whereby God in His mercy delivered me from many dangers, spiritual and temporal.

CHAPTER XL

IN WHICH IS RELATED THE ORIGIN OF THE PERSECUTION THAT WAS
RAISED AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS RESIDING IN THE KINGDOM
OF CHATIGAN, SUBJECT TO THAT OF ARRACAN.

Col. 1,
infraCol. 2,
infra

F. 37, Col. 1.

By the death of the King of Chatigan, the second son of Xalamixá, second of that name, King of Arracan, that Kingdom was left without succession.¹ The Mogo Monarch decided, then, to provide for the Government of that Kingdom, / as for one subject to his Empire. So, he sent as Governor of the said Kingdom a Mogo chief—I forget his name—who tried his utmost to obtain this governorship, solely to revenge himself on the Portuguese, for whom he had the greatest hatred. His reason was that he had been // their prisoner and captive in the Empire of Pegu, in the time of Phelipe de Britto,² whom the natives called the Changá, which means great Captain.³

As soon as the Mogo Governor arrived at Chatigan, the Portuguese Captains, who were there in the service of his Majesty of Arracan, defending that frontier against the assaults and power of the Great Mogol, went to pay him a visit. The Captains told me that, as it was the custom, my presence was necessary at this visit, and so they forced me to accompany them. The Governor, to make a show of his joy in receiving us, sent the Elephants of his guard and many festive instruments to welcome us at the entrance to the city.¹ And, when we arrived in his presence, he made a great display of his pleasure, saying that, with the help of God and of the Portuguese, he hoped to gain great victories over the enemy, and to obtain thereby the favour of his King and Master. He invited us then to supper and entertained us with various musical instruments till supper-time, when we were treated to a sumptuous banquet, that lasted the greater part of the night, with marked demonstrations of joy and good-will throughout.

The banquet, followed by various dances and feastings, being over, we took our leave, and went to the city of Dianga, where we dwelt much pleased, hoping that, after such evidences of kindness, the Governor would think only of remaining on friendly terms with the Portuguese. But the events that followed proved that our good faith had been very much misplaced. For, thinking he had pleased the Portuguese to the extent that they did not suspect any ill-will from him, the Governor started immediately to machinate their destruction, both to satisfy his desire of vengeance, and to be able, with greater safety for himself, to usurp the Kingdom of Chatigan. So, knowing well the loyalty of the Portuguese, who would not consent to such wickedness, even should they to a man have to pay for it with their lives, he set about devising means of undoing them.

The one which he found most convenient was to fabricate letters from the Portuguese, and from the Bengalas residing in the territory of Sacasala,² the greater number of whom were in the service of the Portuguese Gellias. The letters were to the effect that both, by mutual consent, had offered to the Nababo, or Viceroi of Daack, a safe entry into that Kingdom, if he came during the whole of the ensuing month of August. He forged also a reply from the said Nababo to the Portuguese of Dianga, in which he offered them, in the name of the Great Mogol, the greatest gifts and honours, and stated that, during the whole of the Moon of August, he would be in the port of Patanga³ with a suitable fleet. He then sent these letters to the King, urging immediate counter-measures, as otherwise the Portuguese might land in Arracan, seize his own treasures, and make over the lands to the Mogol. [Aug. 1630.]

This news reached the Court by the end of May, the beginning of the winter in those parts. Immediately, the King ordered the Corangarl—a title which among us corresponds to that of Commander-in-Chief of the [May 1630.]

Fleet and the Army⁷—to prepare five hundred Gellās and forty Gallots, and making with all haste for the port of Dianga, to take the Portuguese by surprise and capture them all. If unable to do so, he was to besiege them with the greatest number of people available, making over the Fleet to the Governor of Ramu.⁸

Col. 2. The Christians residing in Arracan,⁹ having come to know of all these preparations, thought it a very unusual thing for a fleet to be sent at that time to Dianga. And, as the measure could not then be directed against either the Mogol¹⁰ or the Asaranja,¹¹ as besides they did not on the occasion take with them any Christians, in whom consisted the chief force of the Fleet, they became very suspicious. Some tried to find out what it all meant by means of their wives, who had ingress to, and friendship in, the palaces of the Queens.¹² And, as women are generally unable to keep a secret, chiefly among themselves, they found out the reason why a fleet was being sent at that time with such haste, and, coming home, they told their husbands what was going on.

The latter held immediately a meeting at the house of their Captain, and decided to despatch at once an express courier with two letters, one for the father Vicar, the other for the Portuguese Captains. And, as the bearer was a Christian, and they had informed him what the matter was about, he came flying through the air, without minding the difficulties of the route. Having set out from Arracan on the nineteenth of June, he reached Dianga on the last day of the same month: an extraordinary performance in the winter season, the journey covering over ninety leagues through most rough mountains and endless marshes.

[19 June
1630.]
[30 June
1630.]

P. 39, Col. 1. As soon as the Courier reached Dianga, he came straight to the Church and Residence, where I was. On hearing from the letters what was going on, I became very much perplexed, chiefly considering that the Portuguese Captains had gone with the fleet against the Kingdom of Jassor¹³ and were not expected to return before another thirty or forty days. Moreover, one of the chief Captains, Bartolome Gonsales Tibao,¹⁴ who was left behind, was laid up in bed. However, I sent him the letter, and, the moment he had read it, though he was actually with fever, he rose from his bed, and getting // into a Doll, carried on the shoulders of four blacks (*negres*), he came at once to see me. He told me that we were in grave danger, and that it was necessary to find a remedy without delay. With this end in view, he asked me to send for three Portuguese, whom he named, old men now retired from service, who had great experience and knowledge of the land, to confer on the situation.

I sent for them immediately, and, on discussing the matter, two men were of opinion that a light Gellā should be sent to inform the

Col. 2

Portuguese fleet and ask them to return at once. One of the old men did not think well of this advice, and not only did he not give his assent to it, but he disapproved of it, giving many reasons, by which he clearly showed that it would be injurious, and that the best course to follow on such an occasion would be for me to go with the said Captain Bartolome Gonsales and some more Christians to the court of Arracan, starting directly on the following day, if possible. For, said he, with my arrival at the Court, the evil suspicion, which the King on the ground of the Governor's false informations entertained against the Portuguese, would cease. And, as all those nations believe that the Christians highly esteem the Religious and Fathers (*Padres*), the King, seeing that I had come myself spontaneously into his hands, would be completely reassured.

Everybody being favourable to this advice, it was decided to put it into execution on the following day, the day of the Visitation of the Mother of God, and orders were given to make the necessary arrangements. So, the next day, after the parochial Mass, I addressed the people, bade them farewell, and asked for their prayers, reminding them that it was in the service of God and for the preservation of Christianity in that Kingdom that we were about to brave the torrents and storms of the worst part of Winter, and place our lives at the mercy of the King of Arracan. After this discourse and the last farewell greetings, we retired, and waited for the night to embark in the greatest silence, lest the news of our departure should reach the Governor.

[2 July 1630.]

P. 40.

CHAPTER XII.

HOW WE STARTED FROM DIANGA FOR THE COURT OF ARAKAN.

Col. 1.

The day of the Visitation, as I said, at dead of night, we started in a well equipped *Gelâ*. Our way lay through a wide and capacious river, through mouths and sea-crossings, which the Winter, particularly stormy on that coast, rendered very dangerous. But, thanks to our sturdy Oarsmen, we reached the city of Rama on the third day after our departure. Any landing operations were, however, out of the question; for a dark night was fast enveloping the earth in her sable mantle, and, as if this were not enough, dense pregnant clouds gave forth their aquatic issue, which precluded our venturing out. So, we had to resign ourselves to the *Gelâ* that night.

[4 July 1630.]

[5 July 1630.]

The following morning we disembarked, and went to visit the Governor. His name was Pomajâ.¹ He was a well intentioned Prince and very friendly to the Portuguese. We gave him a very fine present of pieces of India, for it is the custom in all those lands, when you visit a high personage, to present him first with a gift, which they call *Adiâ*. And, when they come

Col. 2

on a visit, it is also the custom to present them with something, failure to do which is considered a great discourtesy. So that the following is a common proverb among almost all the Oriental nations: "You come to my house; what do you bring me? I go to your house; what do you give me?"

P. 41, Col. 1. According to this custom, then, we gave him first our Adih, owing to which he received us with much courtesy and affability; and, being informed by us that we were going to the Court, he told us that we had taken a wise step. We tried to obtain more details about the object of our expedition, but the Governor cut us short by replying that, since we were going to the Court, we should know all about it from the King himself. He suggested that for the present we should decide which way we would go, so that he might send us all that was necessary. On our telling him that we thought it better to go by the shore, he asked some of his entourage if it would be feasible. They replied that it would not by any manner of means, as, owing to the heavy rains, // mighty torrents were flowing down from the mountain sides, causing broad watery avenues, which the Elephants would be unable to cross. The Governor added that, after crossing the mountains of the Kingdom of the Prô,² we should have to go to the City of Peroëm, whence we could go to Arracan by boat.³

This news saddened us very much, for a journey through the mountains is very difficult and dangerous, owing to the wild beasts there, chiefly Tigers, Rhinoceroses (*Rhinocerontes*) and wild Elephants.⁴ The Governor, however, noticing from our melancholy faces our sadness and dislike, told us that he would give us good guides, and send with us fifty-three Mogores⁵ prisoners, who had to go to the bundicanas,⁶ or gaols, of Arracan, but that it would be necessary to wait for two days. We replied that we would in everything follow his orders. Hereupon, he ordered a house to be prepared for us, to which we transferred our luggage from the Gelià in which we had come, and after that we sent the boat back to Dianga. At meal-time, the Governor called for us, and made us eat with him, which we did while at Ramù.

Col. 2. On the second night after our arrival, the prisoners that were to go with us arrived with a guard of thirty soldiers. We left in their company / and with two turreted Elephants (*Elefantex de andax*) given us by the Governor. But, owing to the copious rain, we decided to do the two leagues up to the foot of the mountains by River in a covered boat.⁷ We sent the Elephants thither by land, and, on reaching the landing-place at the foot of the mountains, we waited over an hour. As soon as the Elephants arrived, we disembarked, and started to load the more valuable part of our luggage on one of the elephants, reserving the other animal for the use of the Captain and mine, as it was provided with a turret⁸ well fitted with quilts, carpets and cushions. It had also windows on the sides, and the roof was

quite proof against the rains, so that, however abundant, they did not inconvenience us.

We were all engaged in this business, and finishing the loading, when all of a sudden from one the bushes leaps a most ferocious tiger, the size of a big calf; and, seizing one of the Mogo soldiers closest to hand, he makes off with him as if with a dog, and so swiftly that, before we could render any assistance, the beast had nearly entered the wood with his victim. However, the soldiers followed with their swords, shouting and yelling. The servants of my companion pursued it also with their escopets and fired some shots, the sound of which so frightened the furious animal that he gave up his prey, // in order to run all the more quickly.⁹

P. 48, Col. 1.

They found the lucky [*sic*] soldier thus, badly maimed and cut open from the back, so that the interior could be seen. His fellow-soldiers wanted to bring him back to the boat, but the Christian servants, who had found him, did not consent to it, saying that, if he were moved, he would die, and that it would be best to cure him first. The Mogos accepted this suggestion with words of gratitude, for it is a common belief among almost all the Oriental nations that there is no Portuguese who is not a *Tabido*, that is, a Physician.¹⁰ The intention of the Christians was, however, to find a cure for his soul. So, one of them came running to me, and told me what was the matter. I lost no time in answering the call, and, going with all despatch, I found him alive and perfectly in his senses, but at the brink of death. So, I spoke to him in his own language, and put before him that, since by an unfortunate accident he was about to lose the transitory life of the body, it would be well for him to see to the eternal life of the soul. I pointed out to him that the errors of Paganism which he had followed would serve only to bring him to everlasting damnation, while, if he renounced those errors, believed in the Christian faith and received Baptism, by the mercy of God he would be saved.

After this and other suitable considerations on the subject, in which I also showed him Heaven, he told me that he firmly believed that the Christian religion was the true one, / and that therefore he desired to be a Christian. Much pleased with such a sweet reply, I took from my neck a metal Crucifix, which I always carried on similar occasions, and, placing it in his hands, I explained to him the mystery by which, for love of us, Christ had voluntarily placed himself in that state. The happy soldier started at once weeping, and, handing the Crucifix back to me, he raised his hands to Heaven and asked me to baptise him. I made him first recite with me the Credo, and then I baptised him, giving him the name of Bonaventure (*Buenaventura*), for the

Col. 2

good fortune he had had, by the mercy of God, of being counted among the faithful.

P. 43, Col. 1. Meanwhile, the rain gave no respite. So, we enveloped him in a sheet and brought him to the boat, where we placed him in the most suitable manner possible. And, as he now gave no reply, I ordered a lighted candle, and, placing the divine sign of our redemption before him, I began, with all the Christians present, the commendation of his soul; which he gave up to his Creator, when I came to the prayer "*Suscipe Domine æræum tuum* [Lord, receive his soul]." We at once made arrangements to bury him, and at the foot of a tree we had a grave dug, which we made over a fathom deep, lest the beasts should exhume the body. Then, placing a wooden cross at the head, we left him in // peace, and poured out our soul in thanksgiving to God our Lord, for having granted that an unworthy minister like me should be the instrument of freeing that soul from the clutches of the devil, and of sending him to Heaven.

Col. 2. Our work in God's service being now over, we deemed it a good beginning and a happy augury for the success of our undertaking. So, much consoled, we started our earthly journey through a thick forest, gun in hand, and firing shots now and again to frighten the beasts off our track. In this way we travelled till four o'clock in the evening, but with great hardship, owing to the continual rain and deep mud. And so, when we reached some fields, we did not dare to cross them that day, because they were over two leagues wide, and full of water and mud. We were thus forced to spend the night sheltered at the foot of a tree, and to order grass, which was plentiful in the whole of that district, to be cut for the Elephants. And, as the rain did not cease, no fire could be lit to cook rice, the daily bread of the natives, without which they do not feel satisfied, however much they may eat of other things. At any rate, in order to tide over the want, we sent for a bag of biscuits, which among other things we had brought from Dianga for our own use, and we distributed the same among all / those infidels, who were going with us, our party being eighty-three persons in all.¹¹

After this short light meal, which we washed down with the water of Heaven and earth, we, the eleven Christians,¹² lodged ourselves, as best we could, in the turret of the Elephant (*en las Elefantinas andas*), some inside, and others around them, under some improvised awnings. But, as soon as the Moon made her appearance, a great tempest of furious winds broke out, which, striking the sails of that terrestrial boat, made us rise the next morning quite soaked. And, though the rain ceased by noon, the wind did not follow suit: on the contrary, it gained such violence that it carried off the roof of the turret (*de las andas*) and broke it into a thousand splinters.¹³

Much put out at this contretemps, we undid what was left of the turret,¹⁴

P. 44, Col. 1.

and continued our journey unprotected and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather. We had crossed the swampy fields and reached the foot of the mountains, when the wind stopped and gave way to rain, which poured with such vehemence that one might have thought the five hours' rest it had given us was but a preparation for this furious outburst. No wonder then that when we reached the summit of a high mountain, we were so wet that we were obliged to change our clothes, and put on something light, thus to await // further downpours throughout the night. However, God our Lord deigned in His mercy to ordain that the rain should not continue during the whole of the night. We were thus enabled to light great fires, dry ourselves, and refresh our bodies with some hot food, the only drink available in such places in those regions being water. This finished, in order to have some rest, we set about looking for good beds. We found them on the trees, and we made the best we could of the situation, in order to be safe from the wild animals.

Col. 2.

The night was spent in this manner, and comfortable we deemed it owing to the absence of rain. At daybreak we continued our journey down the mountain, till we reached the foot, the rain still holding off. Here we found some Bamboo huts roofed with grass, vestiges of certain companies of soldiers who had passed that way. As it was yet early, not even eleven o'clock of the day, we were about to prosecute our way, when the signs of an approaching tempest, overcast sky, thunder and lightning, made us realise that it would be rash to proceed any further. So we retired to the huts, and we were not yet quite installed before the rain began, and it went on without stopping for full twenty-four hours. Being thus detained, we all availed ourselves of this / fine opportunity to rest our tired bodies, all the more because we had another two hard days before reaching Perodm.

In the meanwhile, I began to say the Divine office. When I had finished doing so, a Maometan Mogol came to me and asked me if that *quitabo*¹⁴ was our *Anzû*,¹⁵ that is, the book of our law. I replied that it was a book for doing *Nimass*,¹⁶ that is, a book for reciting one's prayers. Hereupon he asked me to whom the Nassaranes,¹⁷ or Christians, prayed. I replied that we prayed to the only one true God. The man was evidently pleased and cried *Xabas*, which is a way of approving something that is very good.¹⁸ and, continuing his interrogatory, he asked me: "If you know that there is only one true God, how is it that in your *Massides*,¹⁹ or temples, you have so many idols, whom you adore?" I laughed at the question, and the Agarene,* noticing it, interjected: "Speaking of such holy things, do you laugh?" I replied: "Yes, because you, Maometans, are so ignorant (*barbaros*) that you imagine we Christians, or Nassaranes, as you call us, adore idols, like the *Indus* (*Indas*), or Gentiles." I then explained to him the reason why

* Agarene—son of Agar and Ismael.

we, Christians, kept images in our Temples and houses, and my explanation satisfied him and the others who had joined us.

P. 45, Col. 1.

Continuing the argument, he asked me how many religions God had promulgated in the world. I replied there were three, and I added // explanations in their own tongue, as best I could, and with God's assistance. At this the man expressed his surprise, that I, who appeared to be a learned man, should not know that the religions instituted by God were four, the fourth and last being the one preached at God's command by his Bororazul²⁰ Maomet, or the great Prophet Maomet. "The fourth," he continued, "superseded the three you have spoken of, and, though yours is good and you can be saved in it, yet mine is more perfect and more pleasing to God." With this reason, which to him appeared incontrovertible, he came to a stop. I reopened the conversation by asking him if he had anything to add. "What more can you say in the matter?" he said. "Much," I replied: "but, for the time being, I am satisfied with your admitting that the Christian law is good and can give salvation. As to your sect, I say it is bad and harmful; for, instead of bringing one to salvation, it leads one to eternal perdition." Hearing these words, all the Moors present put their hands to their ears, and ejaculated many times *Tobà, Tobà*,²¹ a word which they use to express great astonishment and admiration. I remonstrated to them that, since I had listened to them till they had exhausted all their arguments, it was only fair that I should now have my say. They said that I was right and / that they would listen to me. I then took up some points from their Alcoran, which the Mogores call *Forquan*,²² showed them how frivolous and ridiculous they were, and proved to them that without baptism there could be no salvation. They replied unanimously: "*Padre gio, Alà chatimo, Alà meruan*,"²³ which in our language means: "Lord Father, God is good; God is merciful." Saying this, they rose and left me.

Col. 2.

The following morning, the Mogor, who had started the discussion came to me again, and said to me: "Father (*Padre*), I should like very much to see you in Arracan. The whole of last night I had no peace of mind, thinking of what you said, namely that there can be no salvation without being a Christian. So, I should like to go fully into the matter." On hearing this, I offered to go and meet him at night, when we could talk over this very important subject. But he replied that this could not be done on the way, lest suspicions should be raised among his companions, and that therefore he would defer it for a more suitable occasion. I did not think well of this procrastination, and I told him to be sure that his delaying was the work of the devil, who would object many difficulties to divert him from finding out the error in which he lived; he ought to bear well in mind that he might die before he came to a decision, and be damned. To this he gave a stupid //

- P. 46, Col. 1. reply, which is very common in those lands among the infidels. On similar occasions, they say "Nascloo,"²⁴ which means: "What one's lot and destiny has fixed will inevitably happen." With this frivolous reply he moved off.
- Col. 2. Later on in Arracan I made / great efforts to find out this Mogor, but I was absolutely unable to have any news either of him or of his companions. They must have been sentenced to deportation to the mountains of Maum,²⁵ of which we shall speak later on. *

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW, CONTINUING OUR ITINERARY, WE ENTERED THE VERY HIGH AND ROUGH MOUNTAINS OF THE KINGDOM OF THE PRE, WHICH SEPARATE THE KINGDOM OF ARAKAN FROM THE EMPIRE OF PEGU; ALSO, OF WHAT ELSE BEFELL US DURING THIS JOURNEY.

- Col. 1.
infra. On the following morning, leaving our dry refuge, we resumed our way. We had begun to climb a very high and very rough mountain, when the rain started again with force, which rendered our work all the more difficult. Travelling in this way a little over two leagues, we came upon a large herd of wild buffaloes, which blocked our way. With a view to dislodging them, we fired our guns; but, as our aim was only to frighten off the animals, we fired wide, bearing in mind that a wounded beast would be of no advantage, but of positive danger to us. / The report of the guns and the hissing of the shots produced the intended effect, and, the buffaloes having fled affrighted, we were able to pass on safely. As we progressed, we fired our guns now and again, specially when we heard the frightful roars and growls of Tigers, Buffaloes, Elephants and other ferocious quadrupeds.¹ At this place, we found some beautiful lemons and citrons, but the rain did not allow us to profit of them, as we were all wet and shivering with cold.
- Col. 2.
infra.

- P. 47, Col. 1. It was late // when we arrived in this way at the summit of the mountain. And, as there was no shelter to be found, we could not remain here for the night, owing to the strong winds which swept the place, making it difficult for one to remain standing. So, we began at once our downward course, thinking that at the foot we should be able to find some shelter, or some houses similar to those of the previous day, when we might light a fire and warm and dry ourselves. We were, however, much disappointed and disheartened, for we found no protection other than a few forest trees, at the foot of which flowed a fast stream, swollen with the plentiful rain that had fallen. Besides, through the dark twilight of the approaching night, we saw on the opposite side another very craggy mountain, which, when seen clearly the next morning, I thought to be the highest I had ever seen, nor did I see any higher after that.

Col. 2.

With these sights before us, we had no other consolation but to trust that God, in His infinite mercy, would deliver us from so many difficulties. We spent the whole night on trees, drenched to the skin, and well nigh killed with the cold. And, as neither the rain ceased, nor the dense clouds held out any prospect of calmer conditions, we tried to find some means of crossing to the other side. We looked for a ford by which to cross the furious stream, but in vain. So, it was decided to make a raft by means of thick lengths of wood, tied together with strong creepers, of both of which there was no dearth. After the raft, oars were made; also a strong rope, by joining several cords together. One end of the rope having been securely fastened to a tree, six of the strongest and sturdiest men there present undertook to carry the other extremity to the opposite bank of the River, and with this object they boarded the raft. But they found the current so rapid and impetuous in the middle that, though they tried for three hours on end, they could make no headway. So, they came back by pulling at the rope which they had left tied on the shore. When we saw their failure, we became very sad and much distressed. However, as it was the only means left at our disposal, ten of the very best Mogos decided to make another attempt to get over, and, taking the raft, they worked till night, but with no better success.

P. 48, Col. 1.

All our hopes had now vanished, and there was no remedy but to trust in God, to whom we turned with our whole heart in our affliction, begging Him by His passion not to allow us to be buried in the bellies of wild animals. In fact, as the rain lasted more than two full days, we were reduced to extremity, since all our provisions were so wet // that, being no longer fit for use, we threw them into the River. Our only food now was a little toasted rice, which the Mogos had brought, and which was quite wet also. Finally, after three full days spent there, we reached such straits that, in order not to break down altogether, I was obliged to have recourse to two bottles from the wine-case I had brought for my Masses.

And, seeing that the downpour did not stop, I gave a sermon to the Christians, exhorting them to resign themselves wholly to the will of God our Lord, and to make their confession, which they all did with many tears of contrition. I turned then to the infidels, and told them that it was important that they should not lose their souls with their bodies. But, though all began to weep at this advice, not one was converted, owing to my great sins, I presume. So, I came back to the Christians. We all fell on our knees, and started saying the litanies of the Saints, in such order as I could remember, for it was impossible to use the Breviary. We recited afterwards the litany of the most holy Mother of God, imploring her usual help.

At last, at the end of the fourth day, before the rising of the Moon,

Col. 2.

God our Lord permitted the rain to cease. Some stars appeared in the firmament, and the clouds dispersed, a sign of good, clear weather. When the rain had stopped altogether, we set about lighting a fire. As the wood was all wet, we experienced some difficulty in doing so, until we threw some powder on the better logs, when the fire blazed with such force that we were all able to warm ourselves and dry our clothes. And, as the rain kept off the whole night, the waters of the stream decreased, and the current slackened, making it possible for one end of the rope to be carried to the opposite bank, where it was securely tied. This being accomplished, seven turns of the raft were enough to transfer us all and our luggage across. The two Elephants swam it.

P. 49, Col. 1.

When we were on the other side, the weather became unsettled again, with dense and dark clouds; some rain fell, and we were wet once more. And, though the rain lasted only a little over two hours, yet it rendered the journey up the rugged mountain all the more difficult, so much so that it became necessary to dismount from the Elephant and to ascend with great care, using our hands also occasionally. In fact, the Elephants climbed with greater agility and ease than any one of us, lowering and contracting themselves, when necessary, as if they had been goats. I remembered then the fables of Pliny and other more modern Authors, who say that these animals cannot // either lower or bend themselves, and that, if they once fall, they cannot get up again. But I have myself seen the contrary on many occasions. During the summer heat, I have, on similar journeys, seen the animals lying down under the shade of trees. I have also noticed that, when the drivers (*cornaguas*) take their tame charges to be washed, they make them lie down without any difficulty near the water, and rub and scrub them with pieces of tiles, the animals remaining quiet and peaceful during these operations, with evident signs of great enjoyment. This is how they treat every morning in summer all well-kept elephants.

Col. 2.

Continuing then our ascent of the mountain, we reached the top when it was night, and we were greatly tired. However, it was necessary to travel more than another half league, as at those heights no wood was available to make a fire, and dry and warm ourselves. So, even though we could scarcely breathe,² we journeyed on till we reached the appointed place. There we spent a comfortable night, warming ourselves, drying our clothes, and having a supper of the toasted rice that was left. And, though salt and other ingredients were wanting, we found the meal as tasty as the daintiest ragout, the only drawback being that it was not plentiful enough. This simple, but, / under the circumstances, to us splendid, repast being over, we, the Christians, recited the litany of the most Blessed Virgin, as we used to do every day. Then climbing the trees, each one chose the most suitable place he could find, and then tied himself fast, lest he should fall off, while asleep.

It pleased God our Lord that it should not rain that night. So, we should have been able to spend that night in the desired rest but for our two elephants, who, excited with the scent of the venereal impulses of some wild female Elephants (*Aleàs, o Alifas brauas*),³ that were about close by, started trumpeting and making a great noise. As they were well bound with iron chains, the elephants could not break loose; so they kept up their noise with such force that, to pacify them, we had to remove the occasion by firing some shots from our escopets, at the sound of which the female Elephants (*Aleàs*) fled at once. Our elephants, thus losing the scent of the females, quieted down, and gave us also peace.

P. 50. Col. 1.

When it dawned, we rose from our soft beds, and arranged our things properly in order to continue our journey; for, unless we were careless, we could reach the city of Peroem that day. With this joyful prospect, and with the ardent desire of leaving behind mountains, deserts, and places inhabited by wild and irrational // animals, and of arriving at places peopled by rational ones, we left earlier than usual. We began to descend that rough mountain-ridge with greater care than when ascending, as a slip would mean falling into a deep valley, and being reduced to pieces before reaching the bottom. Finally, thanks be to God our Lord, we reached the valley.

A journey of two leagues across it brought us to two other ridges, which, though not so high as the one we had left behind, were yet more frightful on account of their being very craggy and full of precipices.

Col. 2.

In the middle of these two ridges, ran a rapid, muddy and deep River, which re-echoed through those cavities with a horrible and awe-inspiring sound, enough to frighten the boldest man. An old Mogo tradition had it that an ancient King resolved to open up communications as far as Ramù, and ordered these very rough ridges and mountains to be divided, with the object of introducing that River and making it navigable for boats coming from the Kingdoms of Bengala, Chatigan and Assaram.⁴ This would be a measure of great utility to all those Kingdoms, as it would avoid the shipwrecks which take place on the sea, owing to the roughness of the coast, and the dangerous entrances to the ports. However, after considering later the matter more maturely, they came to see that, as / the enterprise could be of the greatest advantage, it could also bring about the greatest loss, nay, the utter destruction of themselves and of the Kingdom; for by opening that communication, they would enable the great Mogol to come very easily with his fleets up to the City of Arracan, and conquer the whole of the Mogo Kingdom. Accordingly, they ordered the work to be stopped.⁵

Our way lay over one of these ridges, over the one to our left. The natives call it the ridge of the Porà, on account of an idol, which these barbarians have placed on the summit. This mountain, then, we began to climb, the Credo on our lips, using our hands as well as our feet, and

P. 21, Col. 1.

looking always away from the River, because, if perchance our eyes fell on the depth of those precipices, they became dim. Under these difficulties, we reached the middle of the mountain where stood the idol, made of stone, and placed in a little chapel artificially hollowed in the rocks. The idol was in a sitting posture with the legs crossed, after the manner of sitting used by almost all the Oriental nations.⁶ On reaching this spot, all the gentiles that were with us prostrated themselves, and made deep obeisance, in thanksgiving for having come out safely from those dangerous straits. The Mogores, being Maumetans, went // aside, and gave me to understand that they hated those idolatries; but, being prisoners and captives, they remained very quiet and patient. I approached somewhat those that were idolatrising, and told them that we had all to give thanks to the true God, and not to that statue of stone, and I added many other considerations on the subject. They listened to me with pleasure, without any signs of annoyance, and without any objections to what I said, save for the remark of one man, who said that, as long as one did no evil, one did good.

And, rising all, they said that it was now necessary to journey on, in order to be able to reach the City, and that from there we should be able to ride on the elephant.⁷ Now, I saw there was among the prisoners an old Moor, who was so weak that he could scarcely stand. So, I asked to have him freed. The guards objected; but, when we assured them on our word of honour that we would deliver him to them in the City, they agreed, and we gave him a seat on one of the elephants. At this action of ours, all the Moors expressed their deep gratitude, saying that there was no nation in the world that could compare with theirs, excepting that of the Franguls, as they usually call the Portuguese.

Col. 2.

After this, continuing our journey, we finished the descent of the mountain, and entered some rice-fields, which we crossed with some difficulty, as they were covered with water. Owing to this, it was almost night when we reached the City. When we sent / word to the Governor that we would come to see him the following day, he ordered a house to be prepared for us. We, the Christians, repaired thither, but the others, bidding us farewell, went to the Governor's residence, to obey the commands that might be given them.

As soon as we reached the appointed house, the first thing we did was to render thanks to God. We knelt down, and, taking the Crucifix (*o Christo*) in my hands, I recited the Hymn *Te Deum Laudamus*, which I followed up with the Litany of our Lady, for she had obtained for us the favour we had received from her only Son, our Redeemer. After this, we changed our clothes, and gave our bodies some rest and refreshment; for, in truth, we were very weak. In the meantime, the Governor sent us an invitation to

have supper with him. We excused ourselves with many courteous words of thanks, saying that we were so tired that we could scarcely move, but that, the next day, we would duly come to pay him our respects, and give an account of our journey. The very bearers of this reply returned within half an hour with the prepared supper, and with such an abundance of eatables, that it was necessary, lest they should do themselves harm, to set a limit to our companions, who, feeble and emaciated as they were, were giving loose reins to their appetite. When these things were over, and // we retired for the night, at about 9 o'clock, the weather changed again; there was thunder and lightning, and it rained without stopping the whole of that night, and the two following days. Had this caught us / where we crossed the River in a raft, there would have been nothing left for us but to end the days of our life, and be buried in the voracious stomachs of tigers and other ferocious animals.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW WE WENT TO SEE THE GOVERNOR OF PEROEM, AND HOW HE ORDERED A BOAT TO BE PREPARED FOR US TO PROCEED TO THE COURT OF ARRACAN, WHITHER WE WENT.

On the following day, though the rain which started over night, continued, the Governor sent two ceriones (*ceriones*) to take us to see him. These Ceriones are like our hand-barrows, but well-made, well-shaped (*torneados*) and lacquered in variegated colours. They are carried on the shoulders by four menials, and are used by high personages who sit on them, when going out or journeying.¹ And, as a protection from the Sun, and also from the rain, when it is not accompanied by a strong wind, certain umbrellas (*unos quitasoles*) are used, which our Portuguese in those parts call *sombreros*.² Their circumference is that of the parasols of the Roman ladies of Michael Angelo Banarota.³

Provided with Ceriones and *sombreros*, / we left to visit the Governor, taking before us, according to the custom, the *adiã*, or present, which consisted of four middle-sized gilt trays of Chinese make, full of cloves, cinnamon, pepper and cardamom. As soon as we reached his presence, the four servants⁴ advanced to offer him the gift. He was much pleased with them, and, receiving us with great courtesies, after his style, he made us sit near him. Before we began our business, a silver Betel-recipient (*Betelero*) with betel (*betel*) was brought, according to the custom prevalent in many parts of India. This recipient is box-shaped and contains many little vessels for the betel and for other ingredients, also some to receive // the saliva caused by the juice of the betel. This ceremony is a common courtesy

extended to visitors; yet, the principal people do not use it towards the ordinary folk.

When these formalities of welcome were over, we told him how we were going to Arracan to settle matters with the King, and we requested him to order for us a good fast boat. He replied that he could give us a boat much to our taste, but that the weather would not allow of our crossing the gulf of Mañm,⁶ and that it would be necessary to wait till it calmed down with the new Moon, four days later.⁶ We rejoined that our business did not permit so great a delay, and asked him kindly to pass orders for our departure as soon as possible. At this reply, he sent at once for a Coram, which means an officer of justice,⁷ and ordered him to take with him one of the servants of Captain Bartolome Gonçalves Tibao; to go to a certain place and get launched the Geliã that the Christians would choose, and to send immediately word to the paiques, that is, the boatmen and oarsmen, to be ready within twenty-four hours to start with the Geliã for Arracan, whatever the weather.

Col. 2.

As soon as this matter was settled, he ordered food to be served. We begged leave to withdraw, for we were rather tired. He did not consent, and said that, as he had decided that we should be his guests till we left, we could go after taking some food. When this had been done, we departed both to rest and to order that, as soon as the message came, we should embark, whatever the condition of the weather might be. For we had news that the Coramgri, or Captain-in-chief, was in the port of Orietan⁸ with the five hundred Geliãs and sixty galliots, waiting for favourable weather to set out for Dianga, in order to put into execution what his King, persistently urged by the treacherous Governor of Chatigan, had commanded. In the meantime, the Governor of the City sent us fifty hens, two deer, four bags of scented rice, a pot (*cantara*) of butter, fruits, and sweets of local make.⁹ We sent back due thanks for the gift, and the Captain, who was generous, gave to the bearers more than what the present was worth.

F. 54, Col. 1.

Two hours later, the Governor's son, a lad of thirteen or fourteen years, called on us. He came in state, riding a richly caparisoned elephant, and attended by thirty to forty persons. His sombrero had an Ivory handle, which showed that he was a Grande.¹⁰ We both went down to receive him with all the ceremonies in use among them. Having no betel, we gave him instead // various sweets, of our make, which had already arrived the previous day with some of the Captain's luggage that had been left behind at Ramu. The youngster took a great fancy, especially on account of their neatness and beauty, to some pretty curious baubles made of marchpane (*massapane*) and of other kinds of confectionery, and he was more delighted still at the idea that he

was going to taste them. Finally, in order not to depart from the custom of the land, which says, "I go to your house; what do you give me?" the Captain sent for a piece of Chinese damask, with yellow flowers on a green ground, and presented it to the visitor. The lad, who was highly pleased, departed after this, and we saw him to his elephant.

This visit was followed by others from some natives, friendly to the Portuguese, and to every one of them the Captain had to give some Indian spices, which they highly prize. Tired now of so many calls, we were longing for the night, when we should be allowed to take some rest, which we were much in need of. When the desired night came, and there is no place where it does not, there also arrived from the Governor's house such a plentiful supper that twenty persons could eat their fill of it.⁹ Our host sent also word to us to sleep well that night and without anxiety, as the *Gelià* was ready now for the following morning. With this good news we retired, leaving it to the servants to dispose of the supper as they liked.

Col. 1.

The night being over, half an hour before dawn, we rose, and sent to enquire if the boat was ready, with instructions to bring some *païques*¹¹ to carry our luggage, should the reply be in the affirmative. We were engaged in these preparations, when a message came from the Governor, requesting us to pass by his house before embarking. It was raining so heavily that, had it not been for the urgency of our business, it would have been sheer temerity to go out of the house. However, leaving orders that all our belongings should be sent on to the boat, and that every one should be on board by the time we returned to meet them, we went with the very messengers to take leave of the Governor. He expressed his regret that, owing to his advanced age, he could not accompany us to the boat, and said that he was sending his son instead; for which we thanked him with the most courteous compliments used by them. In the court-yard of the Governor's residence, three elephants with gilded turrets (*andas*) were awaiting the two of us and his son.¹² On arriving at the *Gelià*, the lad entreated us, on behalf of his father, not to set out, urging that the weather was so terrible that we were placing ourselves in great danger. The *Mirdà*, or Pilot,¹³ also supported this admonition, and gave strong reasons why we should alter our fixed determination // and decide to wait for an improvement in the weather. He did not succeed however; for the captain, bidding farewell to the Governor's son, beckoned with a look some of his servants, who lifted me in their arms, and placed me in the *Gelià*. The Captain followed me in the same manner.¹⁴ So, the *Mirdà*, seeing there was no remedy, said aloud, and almost crying, to his *païques*: "Brothers, our lives are in great peril. These Franguls, or Portuguese, are sons of the sea, people who do not fear even death." At

P. 55, Col. 1.

these words my companion, seeing the paiques dismayed, took off his outer garments, and in lighter garb, a Bengala cane in his hand, he ordered the Gelià to set out, and the paiques, thirty-six of them, or eighteen a-side, to ply their oars.

The sea was in such a state that, if it frightened us when on land, how much more now, when we were on it? Now we were dancing on the crests of lofty billows, now we sank into the deep cavities opened by the Sea, so much so that we had to lower the awning, in order to keep the rolling boat flat. And all those who were not at the oars lay like corpaes, one on top of the other, thus to enable the Gelià better to govern herself. The water both from the Heavens and the sea was so copious, the winds so strong, the roaring of the furious waves, together with continual thunder and lightning, so threatening, that they made one think of the awful day of judgment.

Col. 2.

In this manner we travelled for five long hours, making acts of contrition, and expecting death at every moment. And, when we reached the middle of the gulf, which, as I have said, they call the gulf of Mañm, and found ourselves in the current of the waters, we were in a helpless position. We had, therefore, to undress, and put ourselves in light apparel, to be able to swim with greater ease. After this preparation, my companions went to assist the tired paiques, and I, Crucifix in hand, was imploring the Divine help. But the tempest was so great, and the waves struck us with such force and vehemence that, even shouting, we could not hear one another. Withal, I was giving absolution to all with any sufficient matter, for there was neither time nor place for more, as a watery grave was constantly staring us in the face.

This distressing and most bitter conflict lasted for about two hours, till we were out of the impetuous currents. The tossing boat became then more steady, and braved better the seas, giving us thereby some comfort and hopes of not getting drowned in those abysses, but of reaching land, which was still two leagues away. The Mirdà, or Pilot, who was at the patual,¹⁴ which is the rudder of such boats, was now, with those who assisted him, so tired // that he began to ask again in a loud voice for our help at the patual. Seeing that the others, if they were to relieve him, would have to leave the oars, I, with the Captain, took the helm. The Bengala Pilot, seeing that we understood the job, took more courage. Indeed, the poor man was sorely in need of aid; for, besides the strength required to govern the patual, the waves came with such force from the stern that, whenever they caught me from the back, they struck me with the chest on top of the sweep of the tiller (*por cima del descanse del timon*). And I was so much hurt thereby that, for some days after, I was spitting clotted blood.

P. 56, Col. 1.

With these hardships we were drawing nigh to the shore; but, as the waves were breaking with great violence near it, we thought it safe not to approach, but to run straight through the entrance (*boca*) of Orietan. But the sky was too overcast and the darkness too great, insomuch that those on the poop could scarcely see the others at the prow. It pleased God, however, that I should be carrying with me a small magnetic needle, with the help of which we guided ourselves through the entrance, and gave thanks to our Heavenly Father for His mercies.

Col. 2.

We had now found a safe port, but we were absolutely tired and exhausted. As for the Paiques, on reaching land, they made the Geliâ fast, and, going ashore, kissed many times the / ground, wet though it was. And, though it rained heavily, they, after returning to the Geliâ, laid themselves down as if dead, and there they remained without stirring for over an hour, until the Captain made them rise and put up the awning, as the rain was injuring us all very much; after that they could rest, if they liked. They fixed up the awning, and, changing their wet clothes, they fell off again to sleep, and remained so till daybreak. It devolved on us Christians, therefore, to divide ourselves into four batches and mount guard, fire-arms in hand, on account of both robbers and tigers; for the latter, getting human scent, swim to the boats to catch their prey.

P. 57, Col. 1.

In this way we spent the night until the break-of-day watch, when the Captain awakened the paiques, to make them prepare their food, after taking which we were to set out, as we did, a little before sunrise. Travelling up Rivers, notwithstanding the rain, which, the awning being up, did not affect us, we reached the choquidares¹⁵ of the City and port of Orietan. Here the guards of those custom-houses detained us, as was usual, till they had informed the Governor of the land. This official, the moment he came to know that there were Portuguese in the choquidares, or custom-houses in our language, sent the news to the Corangri, who was // a league away with all the Geliâs, which were moored on account of the weather. The Corangri, on receiving this information, sent at once an officer to find out what Portuguese we were, and to tell us not to enter without his permission.

When this messenger reached the place where we were, the Captain decided to send another. The choice fell on a Christian, a slave of his, who was instructed to tell the Corangri who he [the Captain] was, and how he came with the Father (*Padre*) to speak to the King. He was also instructed to remark, by the way, certain things, and with what countenance the Corangri received him. The slave, who was well versed in the language and the customs of the Mogos, came back much pleased, and told us that, as soon as the Mogo General heard the Father was coming, he was very glad, and had sent at once that Geliâ of his guard, to take us with greater honour to see him.

After this news, we rendered many thanks to God for such a good beginning. And, taking for presents various Chinese pieces and some Indian spices, we set out immediately to visit the General. He was in some houses, built of Bambus, roofed with thatch, and lined with very fine mats, with which they looked very tidy and cosy. Such houses can, on similar occasions, be built within four days. The Bambus are, as I have said, a kind of a very strong canes, of which almost all the houses in this land are built; they are more or less strong and handsome, according to the sum spent on them. /

Col. 2. In one of these houses, built near the fleet, was the Mogo General, who received us with great joy and pleasure. He was simply enchanted to see us. And, pretending to know nothing, he asked us how it was we had left Dianga in such weather. We replied, showing sufficiently that, at the root of all those untruths, there was the hereditary hatred which the Governor of Chatigan bore towards the Portuguese, and that it was the cause of so much mischief. And, in proof of the innocence of the Portuguese, we added we were coming to place ourselves in the hands of the King, in order that, if they were guilty, we might pay the penalty first, especially I, who, as their Pastor and spiritual Father, had the duty of advising them to be his Majesty's loyal servants. Time would show, I said, who was loyal, the Portuguese, or the Governor of Chatigan.

When I had advanced these arguments with some warmth, the Corangri said: "Father, your coming to be answerable for them, and to submit yourself to the Padchá's good pleasure is a sufficient proof of the fealty and the innocence of the Portuguese and other Christians. Believe me, the King will, according to his custom, receive you kindly and heap many honours upon you. And do not think, Father, that the unfavourable weather has prevented me from venturing out, as you and yours have done, in the service of my King and Master. // What detained me was my thorough knowledge, my many years' experience, of the loyalty and faithfulness of the Portuguese. I was, therefore, taking my time over this business, in order to ascertain the real facts. And, that you may be sure that what I say is true, I want to affirm the same under oath." And, standing up, he raised the end of his cloth on the right side, and, uncovering half of his thigh, he placed his hand on an Idol, and confirmed with a solemn oath, as is done by his sect, what he had said. They take this kind of oaths very seldom, and only when it is absolutely necessary.

P. 58, Col. 1. There is a custom among various Gentile nations, such as the Mogos, the Pegús, the Bramás, the Siames, the Calamiñans, the Champás, the Tunquines¹⁰ and numerous others, of having the Idols, to which they are most devout, painted indelibly on the arms and legs, as well as on the back.¹¹ The process employed is the same as is used in Spain and other places in marking slaves.

Col. 2.

When the said oath had been taken, we all resumed our seats. The Governor, reopening the conversation, told us that the Padehà was not in Arracan, but at the Poragri, which is the greatest of his (their?) false deities, and that he would remain some days at the Pagode of this Idol, whither he thought it advisable we should at once go to meet him.¹⁸ And, in order to reach the quicker, he advised us to give up the route to Arracan, and take another, by which he would send us there in two days.¹⁹ As we accepted his offer with thanks, / he commanded three Geliàs to be prepared, without any delay, to take us, and ordered one of his Captains to accompany us. This Captain was very fond of our nation, and deemed it an honour that we should be made over to his charge, with a letter to the King; and with instructions that, on reaching, he should land first, and go to deliver the letter to a brother-in-law of the Corangri, who was employed in the Palace. The Corangri wrote also to the latter, earnestly requesting him to render us every assistance in all our requirements.

While the Geliàs were being got ready, there came the ceremony of the betel. We pleaded to be excused of this courtesy; but we were forced to accept and taste it. For me it was a great mortification, but there was no escape. After this ceremony, the Captain came in. The Corangri enjoined him to take great care of us, and, accompanying us a few steps from his seat, he bade us farewell. We now set out to embark.

P. 59.

CHAPTER XV.

HOW WE SET OUT FROM THE PORT OF ORIETAN FOR THE PORAGRI
PAGODE, AND WHAT BEFELL US ON OUR ARRIVAL THERE.

Col. 1.

On the second day of our arrival at Orietàn the weather began to improve. We were thus able to cross the gulf of Orietàn, as it is called, with little bodily hardship, and no mental worry, as the sea was now calm. After managing this passage, we entered some Rivers covered with big shady trees, which in some places met and interlaced overhead, as in an avenue made by the hand of man. Upon the dense branches one could see a great number of monkeys, and down below some Abtadas, or Rhinoceroses,¹ which inhabit those wildernesses. And, where the place was not so thickly wooded, there were also a great many peacocks.²

Col. 2.

Along these lonely and canopied Rivers we travelled on and on, the men plying the oars lustily the whole of that day, and the greater portion of the night. The following day, after two hours of sunshine, we began entering open country, sown with rice, cotton, and various vegetables, and soon we came in sight of numerous groups of human dwellings. / On reaching one of these, the paiques took some rest and prepared their food. We too ordered our meal to be prepared, and for this, besides the provisions in our possession, the

Inhabitants brought us at once for sale many fowls, chickens, turtle-doves, pigeons, butter, and other milky foodstuffs. And, as the whole of this country abounds in eatables, everything was so cheap, that for a tanga, or rupee (*rupia*), which is equal to four of our reals, you could pick and choose thirty fowls. For two reals you could get one hundred eggs (*quebas*), other prices being on a similar scale.³

When this cheap meal was over, we set out again, the oars at full strength; and, navigating always within sight of inhabited country, we reached the Poragri at night.⁴ But we were unable to approach the Gatte, ⁵ or landing-place in our language, on account of the many boats and houses of Bambûs, built on rafts of the same material. The great Lords are wont to travel in these houses up and down those Rivers, specially when they accompany the King, who goes in a palace made of the same // material, with halls, rooms, drawing-rooms, galleries and ante-chambers, the wholly divided into several parts for the royal family. And all the apartments are worked with such neatness and beauty, that, for floating pleasure-houses, it must be considered truly magnificent. Still more wonderful is it to see travelling on the Rivers moving Cities of a thousand houses and more, and among them very expensive Palaces of Princes and mighty Lords. In these pleasure trips the Mogo Monarch usually spends two summer months, giving audiences and despatching business, the concourse being as great as when he holds his Court on land.⁶

Owing to this obstruction, we had to anchor more than a league below [the landing-place]. As soon as we had made fast, the Mogo Captain disembarked, and went to see if he could, that very night, speak to the brother-in-law of his Commander-in-chief, and deliver to him the letters. Before going, he told us not to shift until he returned, which we observed faithfully. He, in his turn, punctually complied with our request to advise us at once of anything that might happen. But the information was that, before sunrise, the Mogo Captain came back to us together with the gentleman to whom we had been recommended, and whom we received with all possible marks of gratitude. He told us that the letters had reached him / too late, and that, therefore, he had not been able to deliver the letter for the King, but that he would do so on the first occasion available and inform us at once of the result. My companion replied to these and other great promises with two pieces of escomillas, or gauze (*volantes*) from China,⁷ which the courtier liked very much, showing a great desire of being of service to us, both on account of his brother-in-law's recommendation, and because of the profit he expected from us. The latter would be his chief motive in assisting us, for it is the most usual one among all the Orientals. After this, he bade us farewell and went to look after his business and ours. In

P. 60, Col. 1.

Col. 2.

this matter the Orientals behave in such a way that, though their material interest is always their first objective, yet it remains so well hidden that one invariably thinks oneself their debtor. And so, they could give lectures on this point in many European Courts, where it is the custom for people, after receiving the stains (*las manchas*), to remain as clean as if the stains were of water. For in many the remembrance of having received them lasts no longer than a stain of water, which falls on one's dress.* And withal, the latter are called polite and civilised, and the former barbarians.

P. 61, Col. 1.

At the place where we had cast anchor, we kept waiting for news the whole of that day: yet, that night we received only a message [from the Corangri's brother-in-law] asking us not to despair, and not to attribute // the delay to carelessness, for he had not yet been able to gain admittance and speak to the King, since the whole of that day the King had neither come out, nor given audience to anybody; but that, at night, he would certainly obtain an interview, as he had already obtained permission for the purpose. With this intelligence he sent us a present of various kinds of game and other eatables. We thanked him, and the Captain had a bribe of some tangas (*algunas tangas de mancha*)^b given to the bearer, the man being as much pleased with them as we were displeased at the long delay. However, as we had now to submit to whatever might happen, we remained fully resigned to the Divine will, but spent that night in much thought.

Col. 2.

The following day, before sunrise, the messenger of the previous night came again to us, very gay and happy, and asking a reward in return for the good news he was bringing; whereupon, he delivered a letter from his master, who informed us that he had delivered the Corangri's letter to the King. The latter, on having it read, and learning its contents, had been very glad, and had caused a formon to be issued to the Corangri, in which he commanded him not to move from Orietan until further orders. The King had then sent for the Puchiquè, a title which among us corresponds to 'Master of the household,'¹⁶ and had ordered him to fetch us the next day with two elephants of his guard, and give us good lodgings. So, our friend at the Court requested us to wait where we were; for, within two or three hours, he would come to meet us together with the Puchiquè.

We immediately sent back the messenger with a reply, and gave him, as a reward for the good news, ten rupees, with which he was so pleased that he wanted by force to kiss our feet, saying that there was no nation in the world more worthy of being served than the Portuguese. As soon as the bearer, who had brought the glad tidings, had left, we ordered to prepare the present that was to be given to the Puchiquè, also some sweets that were to take the place of the betel (*betel*).

In the meanwhile, the news of my arrival having spread, there came without

delay the Japon Christians (*Christianos Japones*), with their Captain.¹¹ They had come with the King, for they belonged to his guard. And, on learning where I was, all of them came in two Geliàs, dressed in their gala costumes, to pay me a visit. Having arrived where we were, they saluted us with the muskets and some falconets which they had. Their Captain, whose name was Leon Donno, advancing fell down before me on his knees, and it was only by pressing them much and telling them that otherwise I would not speak to them, that I was able to make them rise, him and his company. As they were very numerous, and there was no room for all in the Gelià, my companion, Captain Tibao, ordered to spread on a sandy stretch, at the foot of some trees, some mats, and over these two good carpets, on which we all sat down. // Then, all came to kiss my hand, and that with as much devotion and respect as if I had been a saint or Bishop. And it is not to be wondered at, for in those parts they show more respect to a Religious than to Bishops in some places in Europe.

P. 62, Col. 1.

When this ceremony of welcome was over, the Japon Captain began his address, saying that all the Japon Christians were very happy at my coming. They had long wished for it, because for more than seven years they had not been visited by their Prelate or any other Father, on account of the wars, and other untoward happenings. So, they hoped, by the mercy of God, that with my advent and by means of the spiritual food that I would minister to them, they would be left in the grace of God, and derive much consolation. They trusted also in the Divine Majesty that the Mogo King would receive me very well; and so they nourished hopes that, at my request, he would grant them permission to raise a Church in their district, a thing which they had been trying to obtain for more than two years now, but which he had always been postponing.

In reply I told them to be sure that, as in duty bound, I would do everything possible to give them much satisfaction in things spiritual, as well as temporal, provided they were just; and that, though my coming on that occasion was to ward off the danger threatening the Christianities of the Kingdom of Chatigan, / yet they were well aware I had written to the Christians of Digriparà¹² that, at the beginning of summer, I would come to see them, and to work to the best of my ability for their progress.

Col. 2.

While I was engaged in this speech, the Pachiquè was announced. So, we all rose and went to meet him. He came, together with our good solicitor, on an elephant with a gilded turret. He was accompanied by forty servants, who came in front, besides other servants, according to the custom of the land. Among the latter they bring some lads, more clever than dull, who are employed in carrying the tobacco and betel utensils, as also vessels of water for drinking, and for washing the feet and the unclean

parts, when necessary. So that, for these trifles they use six or seven menials, when one could do the whole; but, for the sake of greater authority and dignity, they distribute the work as follows. One carries the tobacco-box in a bag. Another carries the pipe through which smoke is inhaled. It consists of a *nolâ*,¹² or fine reed, having from four to six palm-spans in length, and called *chunga*.¹³ One end of this *nolâ* is fitted into a coco-nut (*nn coco*) finely worked, and filled with water, in order to cool the smoke passing through it. A third carries a fire-pan containing red-hot coals. A fourth brings the betel-box with all its instruments inside. Finally, there are // two others. One carries the aquatic beverage in a curious earthenware flagon (*gorgoleta*) fitted in a case (*barsa*) made of rota,¹⁴ or thin Bengala cane, of which, when fresh (*verdes*), innumerable beautiful curiosities are made. Some make the cases (*barsas*) of other material, and fit them with a lock and key. The last of this cortege bears a jug, usually of metal, and full of water for various ablutions, chiefly those of the feet, which they wash before entering the houses of important personages.

P. 53, Col. 1.

The Puchiquê brought all these attendants. On his alighting with his companion, we took him to the Geliâ, the poop of which had been decorated for the purpose. All the others remained outside. After the usual courtesies and ceremonies, we made him take his seat in the chief place, which had two coloured cushions of the finest down. After sitting down, he stood up—in which we followed him¹⁵—to deliver the King's message, which he conveyed in the following words: "Father (*Padre*), the Padchâ, the Master of our heads,¹⁶ sends me, the smallest ant of his pantries, to welcome you, and to request you to send news of the Viceroy of India. He has also commanded me to bring you with me to lodge in the City, where you will be till you have the great happiness of being taken to his Royal presence."

Col. 2.

To this I replied that, by the grace of the true God, / not only had I arrived well, but that I was now enjoying the favours of his Majesty, all of which were mercies from the supreme God whom the Catholic Christians served, and who had permitted my safe arrival, in order that, following the orders of my superiors, I might be at his Majesty's service, as the letters I brought him would show. So it was, I continued, that I came to submit myself to his good pleasure, begging of his Benignity to take me, and the other Portuguese residing in his dominions, as his loyal servants, for in his service they would time and time again risk life itself, as they had always done, both in the reign of his grandfather (*su aguelo*), the great Annaporân, and in that of his Father Xalamixâ, of happy memory, monarchs who had always befriended the Portuguese, as much for their good services, as for their firmness and constancy in the hardships of the past wars of Pegû and Asarâm, and against the Mogol power. I went on to say that I trusted in God to have the

good fortune of being admitted to his Royal presence, where I would show with very clear and plausible reasons that we were all of us his loyal servants.

P. 64, Col. 1.

The Royal messenger, who was delighted with this reply, rejoined: "May it please God that all things happen as you wish; and I affirm by our Porà that my wishes are at one with yours." After this, we all resumed our seats. Continuing on // the same subject, the Puchiquè assured us that the King was well disposed towards us, and that, on hearing our case, he would surely order the return of the Corangri with the fleet.

When the visit had reached this point, Captain Tibao made a sign to one of his servants to bring the collation, which was served with all possible order and regularity. The refectation over, came the adlà, or present, which was carried by five servants, and consisted of five Chinese gilt trays, which were brought on purpose for similar occasions. Four came full of pepper, cloves, cinnamon and cardamom; the fifth contained three Chinese pieces, two of satin, and one of velvet. Though the Puchiquè showed some restraint and gravity, yet he accepted them by placing his hands on his breast, and bowing his head in sign of gratitude, whereupon everything was immediately delivered to his servants.

Col. 2.

And, knowing that his brigantine had arrived, he told us that, on account of the heat of the Sun, he wanted to take us by the River, as this would be more to our liking. Hereupon, he sent for the brigantine, which was a work of sculpture, with many heads of beasts and carved representations of grotesques and foliage. The whole poop was decorated in green and gold, the awning had a ceiling, and there were curtains in scarlet and yellow. The boat had twelve oars on each side, and, before the Palques set themselves to their task, I approached our // solicitor, and told him that those Japones had come to visit and accompany me, and that we might, out of courtesy, take at least their Captain in our company. To this he replied to me that it was necessary to ask the favour from the Puchiquè, and that, if granted, I should be very thankful for it, for the Japon Captain was very much below his rank. So, I went to the Puchiquè, and, conforming myself to the Mogo style, asked him leave to request a favour. The permission being granted, I begged for a place in his brigantine for the Captain of the Japones, and that it would be an honour conferred on me personally. Without any objection, he told me that he granted my request, because he regarded me as a Bay,¹⁸ which means Brother.

I thanked him for this, after the local custom, and sent to the Japon a Christian with the news of the honour which the Puchiquè wanted to bestow on him. He was so pleased with the tidings that he rewarded the bearer well for it, and came immediately. As soon as he reached the brigantine, Captain Tibao and the Mogo gentleman, our Friend, went to

P. 65, Col. 1. receive him. And, approaching the Puchiquè, the Japon made to him great bows and curtsies (*sumbayas*¹⁹ y *cortezias*). Then he sat near me, and told me that he was very thankful to me for the honour done him for my sake, and that, besides the common obligation of serving me as his Prelate and a Religious, he was now under a particular one, // which he would try to discharge, if God gave him life. And not only was the Captain, whose name was Leon Donno, grateful for this good luck, but all the Japones came to thank me for it, for they are by nature the most ambitious of honour of all the Oriental nations, and, when honour is concerned, they would for a trifle sacrifice their life. And this kindness stood me in such great stead later on, when I tried to make those Christians lead a Christian life, that, after the divine assistance, it was my most valuable help.

Col. 2. These things being over, and / the boatmen (*paquarria*) being set in order, we left our moorings, which, as I said, were a league below the landing-place of the City. Presently, we entered a watery street, with houses on both sides, which could rival the most orderly streets on land. And such was the traffic and the concourse of the small craft that we could scarcely pierce our way through the middle of the River. Finally, we reached the Gatte, whither the Puchiquè had sent some officers to keep the place clear.

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW WE REACHED THE PAGODE OF THE PORAGRI, AND OF THE FIRST AUDIENCE GIVEN US BY THE KING OF ABRAÇAN.

Col. 1, *infra*. As soon as we landed at the Gatte, or the landing-place, of the City, we found four elephants with gilt turrets, besides some Ceriones (*Ceriones*) and Catchpolls (*Cordhetes*) of the Puchiquè's, who were awaiting us together with other officials and servants of this minister. The latter took us to his house, where he had prepared a most plentiful repast after the Mogo style, in which entered, / besides the clean things, various unclean ones, such as rats, snakes and the like.¹ Col. 2, *infra*. In these banquets they use also meat and fish together, all of it in different fricassees, for they set on the table one hundred or two hundred small dishes full [of viands], in order that each one may taste what he likes best. They do not use bread, but eat instead cooked rice, as well as cakes of many kinds, made with the flour of the said rice. //

P. 66, Col. 1. Fish is usually eaten in a rotten state. Though it is abundant and of very good quality in those parts, they purposely let it rot, giving as a reason that thus it becomes more tasteful. They use also many kinds of

herbs, which they call by the general name of 'Xaga,'² which means the same as Greens (*Bledos*).³ They have also the custom of putting in all their fricassees a mixture composed of various kinds of fish, called *Sidol*,⁴ which is made when the fish is most rotten and fetid. The bones are removed, some brine is added, and the whole is ground to a mass; after being dried in the sun, it makes the *sídoi*, which, as I have said, they use in all their dishes. The poor and ordinary people use a kind of *sídoi*, which, when put to the sun, neither dogs nor cats care to eat, and so there is no need of keeping watch, which otherwise would be necessary. And, when this latter kind of *sídoi* is exposed to the sun, it stinks so badly, that passers-by not accustomed to the stench have to put their hands to their nose. The rich and well-bred people use another kind of *sídoi*, which is better, for they make it with prawns, very clean ones too; and after peeling, they grind them with other ingredients and salt, so that it becomes passable, especially in dishes of fish and vegetables, for it makes them tasty.⁵

Col. 2.

When the banquet was over, / the Pochiqué accompanied us to some very good houses, which he had had prepared for us, and, leaving us there, he bade us farewell with many courtesies and offers [of service]. On the second day of our arrival, we set about to arrange in a new way the *adia*, or present, which we would present to that Highness, so that, when he sent for us, there should be no delay on our part. The gift consisted of a great Imperial crown, made with much art of pungent and aromatic cloves, and a case of Persian scented waters, containing one hundred bottles, each of which held a little more than half a pint (*quartillo*), as bottled in Persia. In addition to this, there were fourteen scented bags of the purest Catay⁶ musk (*almiscle*); and four yards of very fine Spanish green cloth.⁷

F. 62, Col. 1.

After arranging these things, I began also to prepare the best stand available in order to celebrate [Mass]. The Japon Christians brought for this purpose some pieces of various silks, and carpets, with which the stand was well decorated. And, after making the altar, I adorned it with a frontal of white damask, having mottos of embroidered red velvet, made in China, and I placed thereon, under a canopy of various coloured silks, a picture of the most Holy Virgin of Good Success. Besides this picture there was a Crucifix of polished white ivory contained in a curious // case, gilt with gold on a green ground (*caxa dorada de oro, y verde*), also of Chinese workmanship. There were also other curiosities, which I had brought on purpose, in order to say Mass decently.

That night some Christians came to me for confession. Learning that some of them had not been to confession for eight or nine years, or at least for two or three years, I instructed them in the way necessary to prepare for such lengthy confessions, and I told them that, as there was no

Col. 2.

danger, they might postpone their confession till they had made a suitable preparation. They approved and departed. When they had left me, there came a man of over middle age, who, prostrating himself at my feet, addressed me in a plaintive voice: "Father, I am a Christian, but for the last nineteen years I have not been to confession. I live at a distance of half a day's journey from here. Four days ago, I had news of your arrival. I began immediately to prepare for confession. For the last eleven years I have been living with a Gentile woman, of whom I have several children, all of whom I have instructed in the Christian religion, according to what I learnt during some years I spent among the Portuguese. The chief reason why I have not been to confession for so many years is that I was abysed in my sins. Besides, for the last seven years the Religious of Saint Augustin have not, owing to the wars, been able to come over, as they used to.* Now that God, by His divine mercy, has brought this occasion to my door, I do not wish, having waited so many years, to tempt any longer His divine Majesty. So, I come to place my soul in the hands of Your Paternity, in order that, as my pastor, you may guide her, for I come prepared for anything that you may order for her good. The mother of my children wishes to become a Christian, and, when she is baptised with the children, I shall marry her by the Catholic rite. For the present I should be glad, Father, if for the love of God you heard my confession to-night, for I do not wish to delay it any longer."

P. 48, Col. 1.

I replied that I would do so with the greatest pleasure, as it was my duty. Thereupon, we entered the oratory which I had prepared for celebrating [Mass], and, sitting down, I began to hear his confession. During the course of it, the good man shed so many tears of sorrow and contrition that often, choked therewith, he could not speak. When the greater part of the night had been thus spent, he said to me: "Father, I am so exhausted that I cannot for the moment continue my confession without taking some rest." So, I took him to where he might rest, and I too went to rest till daybreak, when, after blessing some water, I heard the confessions of some of our company, who wished to receive communion. After this, I returned to the penitent of the previous night, // and, finding him now in a fit state to continue his confession, I heard him till he finished with great signs of repentance. And, after speaking to him of the great mercy bestowed on him by God, and on other things calculated to make him persevere in his good purpose, I absolved him. The man was so happy and pleased that words failed him to express his gratitude. He told me that he wished to hear Mass, but that he dared not receive yet in his soul the true God, so soon after casting out of it so much filth of sins. "Two days hence," he said, "I shall return with the best possible dispositions, and I shall bring also my family to

be baptised: and then I shall receive communion and marry the woman according to the prescriptions of our holy law." I replied that I thought well of all he said; I assured him that nothing would be wanting on my part, and requested him not to depart before seeing me again.

So, the Mass and the sermon, which I preached on the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, being over, the congregation went away, there remaining with me only the Christian, whom I had told to wait, and from whom I informed myself as to the number of the Christians there might be in those villages. He told me there were only a few, for the greater number resided in Arracan, and that the former lived in those villages because they were the slaves of a great Lord of that Kingdom; whom the previous King had presented with the / said Christians, as they had been taken prisoners in some cossas of his enemies, the Mogores, whose salaried servants they were. And, on my asking him if they could come to where I was, he replied that they would not do so without their master's permission. After this, I ordered him to be provided with food, and dismissed him.²

Col. 2.

As we expected to be sent for by the King at any moment, every delay seemed to us long. And thus we remained the whole of that day without any news, being in consequence very sad.

The following morning, I said Mass, and prayed during the same to our Lord to cast the eyes of His divine mercy on those Christianities. After the Mass, the Courtier, who was soliciting the Royal audience, came to see us. We were much consoled with this visit, chiefly when he told us to be cheerful, for the reason why the King had not sent for us was that he was in the days of his fast, which would last another three days, at the end of which he would at once call us to his presence.

With this news our imaginary anxieties decreased. So, I made arrangements to send word to the Christians that, during those three days, they could come to confession, which they did, beginning to come soon after the hour of vespers. And, as the confessions covered so many years, though the penitents did not exceed forty, yet during these three days and a great portion of // their nights I had much to do. In the meanwhile, the above-said Christian came with all his family, and, after reconciling himself and receiving holy communion, he introduced them to me. Finding them all well instructed in the rudiments of our most holy religion, I baptised them all, five in number, to wit the mother and four children. And after baptising the mother, I married her to the father of her children. This being over, I informed myself again about the captive Christians, and he told me that there were nine families, all living by their work, and that they did not come to the City without their Master's permission. However, I made a list of the names of the heads of families, in order that, finding a suitable occasion, I might ask the King for them.

P. 69, Col. 1.

Col. 1.

When his fast was over, the King, before coming out to give audience, consulted first of all the Raulines, who are his Priests (*Padres*).¹⁰ Such is the custom on many occasions; for these pagan nations are so much given to superstitions and omens that they see a meaning in everything: so that, if, when leaving or entering their houses and rooms, some animal passes in front, or somebody happens to sing, shout, or make any noise on that occasion, they at once consult their priests, or Soothsayers, about these accidents, and the latter put into their heads any fiction they think best. So, they told the King that it was necessary to wait for the following day, till the hour at which he used to send food to his Idol, and that, after sending the food, he should order nine birds to be released, in order that these might go first to present his fast to the Porã, and that after these pious works he was free to do anything he liked.¹¹

P. 70, Col. 1.

These silly pious works of the devil being over, by the virtue of which he thought himself preserved from what he had been told, the news spread quickly through the City, on the following day, that the King was going to visit the Pagode, or Idol. There was, therefore, a great gathering of Lords and courtiers to accompany him. After his visit to the Idol, he gave much alms to the Raulines, and, returning home, he gave orders to the Puchiquè to bring us to his presence after his meal. The Puchiquè did so with much diligence. With a large suite he came where we were to take us, and brought, instead of Trunked (*Trombiferos*) elephants, very neatly adorned ciriones, in which we went to the Royal palace. We entered, and went on till we reached a hall, where was the Peguan guard, which came at once to receive the Puchiquè, or chief justice, and master of the household, accompanying him to the second hall, where was the guard of the Mogores.¹² From the second hall, we passed on to the third, where were some of the chief lords, to whom // the Puchiquè made great reverences, in which we followed him.¹³ Then we reached a middle-sized door, which the Puchiquè struck three times at measured intervals. At the last knock, a shutter, which was on the door, was opened, and there emerged an old hunch-backed Eunuch, who with his ugly face could quiet the most sulky child. This Monster (*Endriago*) asked us with much anger and greater pride what we wanted at that hour at the door of the Master of our heads. The Puchiquè answered this arrogant question with subdued voice and much humility, saying that by the command of the Lord of his head he had brought those Portuguese foreigners, and that one was a Father. At this reply the semi-man closed the shutter with such force that one might have thought he wanted to fling it at our faces.

At this place we remained kneeling over half an hour in deep silence: and what astonished me most was that, on examining and re-examining every side of that large hall, I noticed the same silence was kept by all. So I fancied that, perchance, there had been a revival of the incanta-

Col. 2.

tions of those happy knights-errant, the Palmerins and Esplandians and the like,¹⁴ and that there had been conjured up Dwarfs (*Enanos*), and Monsters (*Endriagos*) similar to the Eunuch, and I believe there could have been none more ugly than he in face and build. From this thought we were awakened by a beautiful and most graceful maiden, / who, opening the shutter a second time, presented herself to our gaze, dressed in a snow-white dress adorned with artificial flowers of various colours, from the ends of which hung a profusion of rich pearls. As an ornament to her black hair, she carried white natural flowers. Encouraging then our hope, the lovely Annunciatrix, a presage of our coming success, said to us with a smiling and merry countenance: "Happy strangers, be you as welcome as the longed-for rains, when they are necessary to our fields, for you will participate in the smile from the mouth of the Master of our heads."

Immediately after this brief address, the door was opened by some venerable matrons, who led us to present ourselves before his Mogo Majesty.¹⁵ And, as soon as the Puchiquè sighted the latter, he prostrated himself thrice, a ceremony in which we imitated him.¹⁶ His Majesty was seated at a window, which faced a hall where were some Princes. A matron led me to a seat near them, Captain Tibao being seated a little further back, while the Puchiquè was on his knees in the middle of the hall.¹⁷

P. 74, Col. 1.

While we were in this position, our adlà, or present, arrived. It was carried by some Eunuchs, who, after showing and presenting it in our name to the Mogo Monarch, took it back. When // this function of offering our present was over, the Ramallè, or Interpreter of the Portuguese,¹⁸ approached me and asked me in the name of his King what it was I desired, and how I had dared to set out at such a time from Dianga. At this question, as I came well prepared, I stood up promptly, and bowed profoundly; in token of my gratitude for the mercy the King bestowed on me, by deigning to speak to me. This is a ceremony which this nation observes towards its King, for they deem it a great boon to be interrogated by that Highness.

After this ceremony of thanks according to the Mogo etiquette, they made me resume my seat, and the Interpreter asked me in a low voice in the Portuguese Tongue to expose my business, for it was a good occasion. So turning my eyes reverentially to the Royal Majesty, I said to him:—

"Great and powerful Padchà Sodromaxà Boaxam,¹⁹—The fame of your greatness and valour is such that it reaches parts far distant from this your Hemisphere. It, and the affection which you bear to the Portuguese, reached also our Indian Hemisphere, and they do not excite there any surprise: for, as a true descendant and heir of the great Annaporan, your Grandfather (*Aguelo*) and of Xalamixà, your Father of happy memory,²⁰ you not only imitate their greatness and valour, but also maintain the good relations which they had with

the Portuguese, thanks to / whom the first obtained the greatness he sought, and the second gained the liberty he had lost in that lamentable and unfortunate Pegu war.²⁰ And, if this and other examples do not influence you, for being of the past, perhaps the present ones may do so. For you, mighty Padchà, and your Kingdoms experience every day the loyalty with which the Portuguese and the Christians living in your dominions serve you, caring nought for their lives, and exposing themselves to the greatest dangers to guard the frontiers of your kingdoms against the overwhelming power of the Mogol. And not satisfied with this, everybody knows how many raids they make every year with their fleets on the lands and Kingdoms of Bacalà, and Solimannàs, Jassôr, Angelim, and Ourixa, thereby not only decreasing the power of the enemy, but also increasing yours. For, your father of happy memory having left these Kingdoms almost depopulated owing to the loss of many people in the various wars he waged against the Mogores, Asarames and Pegùs, it is chiefly through the Portuguese that you see them again peopled to-day, for they brought to your dominions entire Cities and villages (*poblaciones*), there being years when they introduced over eleven thousand families.²¹

P. 72, Col. 1. "And should any adviser of yours, unfriendly to the Portuguese, tell you that, in return for this, you provide them with handsome // incomes, that they are Lords in your land, and that their interest prompts them to serve you, to such a counsellor I should reply that they could obtain by far greater incomes and profits in the dominions of the Mogol, your enemy, if they cared to serve him. It is a matter of public notoriety in all these Kingdoms what diligent means the Mogores employed to win them over. For, in the year 1619, Abdulnauî, the then Nabàbo,²² or Viceroy of Daack,²³ promised in the name of his King to give them any mainas,²⁴ or salaries, they might ask, and the lands they might choose for their habitation. He also guaranteed they would have all the privileges they might wish for. And, in order that this offer might have the better effect, he asked the Portuguese in his lands also to write letters soliciting this coming. All these letters and designs they communicated to your Father of happy memory, and, when they could have freely gone and told the King to take his chance, they did not do so, but on the contrary they reassured him, and certified to him that they would never fail in reciprocating his good friendship, even at the cost of their lives. It is well-known also, Mighty Lord, to all your vassals, how in the year 1623, when Nabàbo Fatexangue governed the Kingdom of Daack,²⁵ the Portuguese residing in these Kingdoms were again solicited with formons (*formones*), or decrees, bearing the seal of his / King, who upon his Royal word offered to the Portuguese so many advantages that I shall not relate them in detail, for they are still fresh in the memory of many of your advisers.

Col. 2.

"Then, if all that I have pointed out is true, as you are well aware, mighty Padchá, what reason can there be for giving credit to the biased accounts of such an open enemy of the Portuguese as the Governor of Chatigun? And, believe me, Sir, time will show his loyalty and that of the Portuguese. I am come to your Royal presence to justify the fidelity of the Portuguese and other Christians. Therefore, I beg of you to order thorough enquiries to be made. And, should you find them at fault, it is right that, as they did nothing without my advice, I, as the mover, should be the first to pay the penalty of such a great misdeed. But I am sure you will find that in this matter we are absolutely innocent. And this innocence of theirs forced me, as their Pastor, to come to submit myself to your Royal power, trusting in the high and powerful God, Master of all Heaven and earth, who will not permit your Royal power to be used except within the bounds of true justice. And may the same Lord touch you with His divine light, so that you may conform yourself in all things with his most holy will. You will then be // glorious, not only in this life, but also in the life eternal, a thing which I continually pray may be granted to you."

P. 72, Col. 1

After this speech, I rose, and, making the usual courtesy, I resumed my seat. And the Mogo Monarch, casting his eyes on me, said to me: "Father, I am quite certain of all you have said. I also know the loyalty with / which the Portuguese serve me. And that you may see that my mouth speaks what my heart desires, I shall order at once the return of the Corangri." As now he showed his desire to rise, they lowered a curtain, not, however, before all present had prostrated themselves. With this all were dismissed, and were free to leave when they liked.²¹¹

Col. 2

[To be continued.]

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NOTES TO CH. X.

P. 34, col. 1.

6. *Travelling from Hugli to Chittagong along the Ganges*.—Father de Souza and Fernandes, S. J., travelled the same way, *i.e.*, across the channels of the Sundarbans in 1598. On his return from Arakan in 1635, Manrique followed the same route, and again speaks of the Ganges. Cf. p. 228a. We need scarcely remark that one of the meanings of *ganga* is 'river' in general.

7. *Dianga*.—The Bengal Survey map, Sheet No. 409 (scale 1 inch = 1 mile) shows Bandar (*i.e.*, Dianga) on the left bank of the Karnaphuli River, almost at the mouth. It is called Firinghi-bandar or Bandar in O'Malley, p. 177. I doubt whether the Portuguese ever had a fort at Pahārtali, 2 miles from the civil station of Chittagong (O'Malley, p. 176). They could not have been there in Manrique's time. Father Barbe, Vicar of Chittagong, wrote on Sept. 5, 1843: "The first church [of the Portuguese on the Chittagong side] was built by them at Deang [Dianga], which is at the mouth of the river. The spot may yet be traced: it is on an elevated ground; the building appears to have been 80 ft. in length and 40 in breadth. Twelve Christian families live close to that spot, and I was told by a Mosulman, who is about 100 years old, that he recollected the time when some of the villages close to that

place were all inhabited by Christians. Since that epoch, some families are gone to Tipperah; some to Neacolly [Noakhali], and the remainder are in different places of the Chittagong district." Cf. *Bengal Catholic Herald*, Calcutta, 1843, Vol. 5, pp. 268-271.

Dianga was the first Portuguese settlement on the Gulf of Bengal; hence, before they settled at Satgarw or Hugli, to go "to Bengala" meant to go to Dianga; or, as they generally called it, Porto Grande. In de Barros' map we find only Chatigam (Chittagong); in van den Broucke's map, Dianga is correctly placed, but 'Rampe' in the immediate vicinity is an error. Blochmann (p. 233) identifies Dianga with the Dakhindāngā or the Brāhmundāngā, both on the Sangū River, south of Chatgāon, where salt-gouubs still existed; the word 'dāngā' signifying 'high land.' Whatever the etymology of Dianga may be, the place is not on the Sangū River.

"Ferreira, and generally the Portuguese writers, reckon that [Chatigam] as a City of Bengala; and not only so, but place the City of Bengala itself upon the same Coast, more South than Chatigam. Tho' I confess a late French Geographer [Baudrand] has put Bengala into his Catalogue of imaginary Cities, and such as have no real Existence in the world; but I wish he had given us a more particular account of his Reasons." Ovington, p. 534. The city of Bengala, after the Portuguese had settled in Arakan, was Dianga, therefore. We hope to return to this vexed question.

8. *Fr. Domingos de la Purification*.—See on him pp. 153a, 154a-156a, 159a-161b. For the last seven years he had been alone in Arakan. Therefore he had been there since 1622 at least. Manrique says (p. 153a) that, 8 years before his own arrival, Sept. 1629, Fray Domingos had had for companions Fathers Ector de los Angeles, Agustin de Jesus, Francisco de las Llagas and Mathew, all Augustinians. Three of these (?) had died of the contagion before Sept. 1629 (p. 34b).

On the term 'Vicar de la vara,' Cf. p. 6b, note.

P. 34, col. 2

9. *Church and residence at Dianga*.—Cf. note 2 above. Close to the Church, was a small hill, from the top of which some natives discharged a falconet at Manrique, while he was hearing confessions, on the eve of Corpus Christi, or June 18, 1630. They wished to avenge themselves, because the Christians had been forbidden to lend them anything to enhance their Durga procession at the new moon of June. Cf. p. 157a.—The ruins of the church (still seen?) at Dianga are very likely not those of the church which existed in Manrique's time. In the early days, especially in Arakan, churches were built of bambu, and such buildings lasted only 12 or 15 years (p. 106 b). In 1713 there were at Chittagong 3 churches, each with its Missionary, and half a league from one another. That year more than 2,000 persons were confirmed there.—In 1722, the (a?) Church of Chittagong was dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe. Cf. *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1915, Vol. XI, p. 190, and note 1.

About the later Christian settlements of Jamalkhan, Khatollah, Sultampur, Nospara (on the Halda river), cf. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Oct.-Dec. 1910, p. 219. In 1713 the native Christians near Chittagong were called 'boctos,' probably from *bhakti*, piety, devout, religious-minded. I can add to the notes I published on this point in 1910 (*ibid.*, p. 220) some extracts from a letter of Fr. (now Bishop) J. Legrand, C. S. C. (Chittagong, June 19, 1910):

"The word '*Bactar*' seems to imply an idea of piety and to mean "pious." This word is still current in several parts of our Mission. My assistant, Father Niard, who lived formerly at Toomiliah and Bandhura tells me that in the former of these places there is a pious association called "*docto-somaj*." At Nagari, near Toomiliah, and in the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Pádris, it is the same. At 2 or 3 miles from Toomiliah, there is a village called Boctarpur, which appears to have the same etymology. In the village of Chhoto-gola, at half an hour's distance of Bandhura, there is a *hári* called *Bacto-hári*. I have appealed to the memory of several of our Christians, juveniles of between 70 and 80 years. They have no knowledge of the *Bactos* you speak of."

10. *Arrival of strangers notified from Chittagong to Arakan*.—"And when any strangers arrive at Syrian [near Rangoon], the number of people on board, with their age and sex, are sent to him [the King residing at Ava] to let him know that so many of his slaves are arrived to partake of the Glory and Happiness of his Reign and Favour, and the highest title his own subjects assume, is the King's first Slave" (1709). Cf. Capt. A. Hamilton, II. 44-45.

P. 35, col. 1.

11. *Father Fray Manuel de la Concepcion*.—Cf. on him p. 153a. It would seem that Fray Dominges left before the end of 1629, and that Fray Manuel de la Concepcion was poisoned also before the end of that year. The pagan festivity, which was the occasion of his being poisoned, was different from that in June 1630, which nearly cost Manrique his life, the first being celebrated in thanksgiving for some favourable news, the second in honour of Durga. The reason for the hostility was the same—the prohibition by the Missionary to lend articles of value to adorn the idol and the pagoda.

P. 35, col. 2.

12. *Position of Angaracale*.—No such place appears in the Bengal Survey map, Sheet 409 (1"=1 mile). This port was about 3 leagues from Dianga (Chittagong). An arm of the sea divided it from Dianga. It was first a small village of fishermen, but became a Portuguese 'bandel' after Juan Errera Barbosa settled there. Cf. p. 158a. It was evidently to the south of Dianga, and must have been on the left bank of the Sangu River. Has the name survived on that side?

Abbate Toal (II. 36) makes certainly a mistake when he says that the Augustinians, besides a residence and Church at Dianga, had another in two other big villages not far from it, Arracale and Angaracale. There is no Arracale in the edition of 1633; if there is one in the edition of 1649, it must be a misprint for Angaracale. At p. 174b, *infra*, the name is spelt Angalacale.

13. *Pagoda*.—The word is used in old travellers either for an idol or for an idol-temple.

P. 36, col. 1.

14. Isaiah, 44:8.

15. *The Mogas*.—See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Mugg. An excellent article, from which we take Wilson's definition: "a name commonly applied to the natives of Arakan, particularly those bordering on Bengal, or residing near the sea; the people of Chittagong."

P. 36, col. 2.

16. *Arrival of two more Augustinians*.—If we are right in supposing that Fray Manuel de la Concepcion was poisoned at the end of 1629, these two Missionaries

did not arrive till the second half of 1632. One of them must have been Fray Dingo Coulam, whom Manrique mentions as his companion (p. 153a). The name of the other is not stated. Both of them were at Dianga in 1635 (p. 221b).

NOTES TO CH. XI.

II. 36, col. 1,
infra.

1. *Xalamixa II*.—Pronounce 'Shalamisha,' not Kalamiscin, as in Tosi (II. 34).

We collect here a number of facts about the Emperors of Arakan, as found in Manrique.

One of the previous Kings of Chittagong was Alamanja, the younger son of Xalamixa I (*sic*), King of Arakan. He was killed in an attack on Chittagong by his elder brother, after the death of their father. Before this, Alamanja's daughter was married to the son of Sebastian Gonsalves Tibao, King of Sundiva. She had been baptised previously under the name of Maxima. Alamanja had two other children, and, when he was killed in the attack on Chittagong, the Portuguese Missionaries removed them to Hugli. The boy, after 7 years at Hugli, was baptised, at the age of 13, under the name of Martin; his sister, under that of Petronilla. Don Martin was next sent to the Augustinian Convent of Goa. At the age of 18, he joined the Portuguese fleet, hoping to recover Arakan from a tyrant who had killed his uncle. His title to the throne was that he was the legitimate son of Alamanja, and grandson of Xalamixa II (*sic*).

He served first in the armada of Don Ruy Freire de Andrada, General of the Straits of Ormuz (1624-25?); next, he fought on the Portuguese fleet against the Achinese before Malacca (1627-28), and was wounded. After that, he served on board the fleet of General Nuno Alvarez Botelho. When Don João IV. was proclaimed King of Portugal (1640), he went to Portugal, and died on the voyage back to India. His sister Petronilla died at Hugli. Thus Manrique in Ch. 28. The dates are gathered from Danvers' *Portuguese in India*, II. 224, 226, 227, 272. On the death of Dom Martin see another version in *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1915, Vol. XI, p. 185.

In 1634, Sodromaxa a grandson (*neto*) or, at any rate, a descendant of Xalamixa, was reigning (Manrique, p. 143). In 1630, Manrique gives him the title of Padcha Sodromaxa Boaxam (p. 71a) or simply Boaxem, (p. 77a). His name appears also as Xadamaxa (p. 206b), and Xadramaxa II (p. 195, title). Manrique calls Xalamixa his father; and 'the great' Annaporan, his grandfather p. 71a; p. 76a). However, at p. 168b, Annaporan is called his great-grandfather (*bisabuelo*). In 1634, Sodromaxa had been 12 years on the throne (p. 193a). Therefore, he had begun to reign in 1622.

Sodromaxa must be identified with Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma, the 19th king of the City Myouk-u (Arakan), who reigned from 1622 to 1638, according to the Arakanese genealogies. Cf. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 303. His father, according to the same genealogies, was Meng-kha-moung, who reigned from 1612 to 1622; his grandfather was Meng-Ra-dza-gyi, who ruled from 1593 to 1612. Phayre (*Hist. of Burma*, p. 303) identifies Meng-Ra-dza-gyi with Xilimixa of the Portuguese historians. Probably, this Xilimixa is Manrique's Xalamixa I, Dom Martin's grandfather. If Meng-Kha-moung was Xalamixa II, Manrique must have made a mistake in calling

Xalamixa II, Dom Martin's grandfather. He would have been his uncle, and was probably the King who was slain by a usurper, according to Manrique.

In 1612, at the death of Xalamixa (the First, as I suppose), Dom Martin would have been 6 years old, since he was baptised at the age of 13, after 7 years spent at Hugu. In that case, he was only 16 in 1622. Who then was the usurper, since Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma was the son of Xalamixa (the Second, as we suppose)? Or how could Dom Martin's claims to the throne have been better than those of Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma? I remark, however, that the latter was slain (p. 217a) in 1638(?)

If Xalamixa II died in 1612, his second son, the king of Chittagong, survived him till close on Manrique's arrival in Sept. 1629, for the new Mogo chief was welcomed at Chittagong by Manrique and the Portuguese Captains. Manrique says (p. 162) that the king of Chittagong was generally the second son of the king of Arakan. The new Mogo chief could not have been Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma's second son, because Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma consented to setting him aside, when Manrique went to complain of him at Arakan in 1630. Besides, the 'Prince' or heir-apparent and the 'Infante' were both small in 1630 (p. 102a, 102b).

On the Xilimixa who reigned before 1612, cf. Danvers, II. 123. One Annaporão appears there as his brother, II. 145. But there must have been an earlier Annaporão; nor can we take literally Manrique's statement (p. 168b) that his ambassadors made a treaty with Don Garcia de Noronha, the Viceroy of Goa. The latter governed in 1538-40, which corresponds to the reign of Meng-beng (1531-53), the father of Meng-Phalaung (1571-93), whose name is the closest approximation to Annaporão. Annaporão would therefore have been Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma's great-grandfather, as Manrique once states (p. 168b).

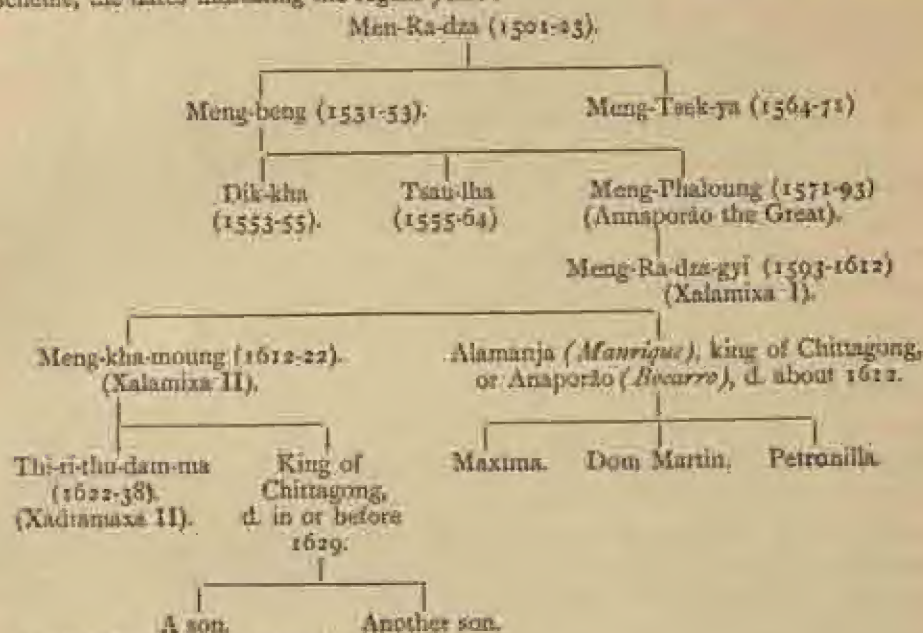
The following notes on the later Anaporão are from Antonio Bocarro's *Decada 15*, pp. 439-440.

King Anaporão, second son of the King of Arakan (Siltmisa, Cf. p. 121), and lord of the lands of Dianga, Saquecala (the Sacasala of Manrique) fell out about 1610 with his elder brother, the prince (i.e., the heir-apparent or eldest son of the King) of Arakan, who claimed from him the strongest elephant of the country, and came to take it by force. Anaporão took refuge near Sebastião Gonsalves at Sundiva, after giving him his daughter as a hostage, and with his help he went to fight his brother; but, unable to resist, he withdrew with his household, treasures and elephants to Sundiva. His daughter married Sebastião Gonsalves. Not long after, Anaporão died, and it was suspected that Gonsalves had hastened his end. Gonsalves tried to marry Anaporão's widow to his brother Antonio Carvalho Tibao, but she refused to become a Christian. After this, Gonsalves attacked the King of Arakan, and his brother Antonio, with only 5 ships, took 100 of the King's vessels. The latter then concluded a peace with Gonsalves, who thereupon gave up the widow of Anaporão, and she subsequently married the King of Chittagong.

Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, Viceroy of India, wrote from Goa, 29 Dec. 1610, that Annaporão was with Seb. Gonsalves, who had married one of his daughters, and that Philip de Brito's son of Siriam (Pegu), was expected to marry another. Cf. *Documentos remettidos da India*, Tom. I (1880), p. 356.

Manrique mentions Alamanja only once, and his description of him tallies so much with that of the Anaporão of Bocarro that we incline to think they must be identified.

Comparing these notes with the Arakanese genealogies we obtain the following scheme, the dates indicating the regnal years:



CL Manrique, pp. 101a, 102b.

Phayre remarks (*History of Burma*, p. 124) that Xilimixa represents the Muhammadan name Salim Shāh, and that Meng Soamwun, who founded Myank-u (the town of Arakan), on his being restored to the kingdom of Arakan by Nazir Shāh of Bengal, (1430), agreed to be tributary to the King of Bengal. "This subordinate relationship did not last long, but from this time the strange anomaly occurs of Buddhist Kings using, in addition to their own names, Muhammadan designations and titles, and even issuing coins bearing the Kalima. This practice probably was first introduced in fulfilment of the promise made by Meng Soamwun, but was continued in later times as a token of sovereignty in Chittagong" (*ibid.*, p. 78).

In *J. A. S. B.*, 1846, pp. 253-254, Phayre describes three coins, one of each of the three kings Meng-Ra-dza-gyi, Meng-Kha-moung, and Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma.

The first is of A. D. 1501 (Arak era 963), and bears on the obverse: "Lord of the white Elephant, Nara-dib-ba-di Tshaulim Shya," Nara-dib-ba-di being Pali for 'ruler of men,' and Tshaulim Shya standing for Salim Shāh.

The second is of A. D. 1612 and bears on the obverse: "Lord of the White Elephant, Wa-ra-dham-ma Ra-dza Oo-shyoung-shya." Oo-shyoung-shya stands probably for Hussain Shāh, and the first part of the title is Pali for "excellent-law-observing king." If he can be identified with Manrique's Xalamixa II, we should say that, as in the case of several other kings, the Portuguese named him after his predecessor.

The third coin is of A. D. 1522. The obverse has: "Lord of the White Elephant, Lord of the Red Elephant, Thi-ri-thu-dham-ma Rā-dai." There is no Muhammadan name on the coin. The Pali title means 'excellent righteous king.'

In 1583 the King was Sirda Souma Marana, and his eldest son was called Ouga Balla Ingry. Cf. D. Havart, Pt. III, p. 62. The name stands for Tsan-da-thu-dam-ma Rāja, and we are reminded of Manrique's Sadumaxa (= Shāh-dam-ma Shāh?).

P. 37, col. 1.

1. *Don Philippe de Britto*.—His full name is Philip de Brito e Nicote. Cf. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, s. v. Nicote. He had made himself king of Siriam (Pegu), but the king of Ava took Siriam and had him impaled (1613). Cf. *ibid.*, II. 161.

2. *The Changa, or the great Captain*.—Derivation unknown.—The King of Arakan used to call Philip de Brito the Changa, and this was the name by which he was known by all in his kingdom. Thus A. Bocarro, *Decada 13*, p. 130. At p. 122, Bocarro translates *changa*, de Brito's title, by 'bom homem' = good man (=homem de bem=homine de bien).

"The King of [Avecau] gave the Portuguese [de Brito] the name of Xenga, which means a lusty (?) fellow (*lustig man*): the Portuguese well deserved the title too; for 2, or 3 years later he took the son of this King captive and made him pay a ransom of 17,000 Tangas (*Tangans*), and 10 Galleys laden with rice." Cf. Pieter Williamson Floris, in van der Aa, p. 26. See also Danvers, II. 126.

3. Dianga was outside the city walls of Chittagong, since the Captain of Dianga was received at the city gate by the King's elephants. After the festivities, they returned to Dianga.—There was, indeed, a good distance between Dianga and Chittagong; moreover, the two places were on opposite sides of the river.

P. 37, col. 2.

4. *The district of Sacassala*.—Not identified. In the reign of King Xalamixa, the grandfather of Sodromma, the Augustinians were offered productive lands in the District of Sacassala. Cf. p. 143a: We find the word written Saquecela or Saquicela in Antonio Bocarro's *Decada 13*, p. 439. In 1610 Anaporão was King of Dianga, Saquecela and Ramu (*ibid.*).

5. *Patanga*.—From Manrique's description it was at the entrance of the Karnaphuli River, on the north or right bank, because, on entering the river, you had Dianga on your right, and arrived next in front of Chittagong (cf. p. 151b). At p. 221b, he says it was 2 leagues below the landing of the city (of Dianga?). The Bengal Survey Map, sheet 409 (1"=1 mile), shows Patanga on the right bank at the entrance of the Karnaphuli River, and sheet 408 shows another, a little higher and contiguous to it.

P. 36, col. 1.

6. *Corangari, or commander of the fleet and the army*.—Derivation unknown. Perhaps connected with 'corau' or 'cotm,' for which see note to p. 53, col. 1. The ending 'gri' occurs still in Manrique in such proper names as Pungri or Pungri (a Buddhist priest, from p'hun-gyi=great glory), Poragri (a place known for its idol Pota), Catagaria (the King's scribes). A. Bocarro, *Decada 13*, p. 126, defines 'corangari' as meaning "capitão geral do mar."

7. *Ramu*.—Cf. note to p. 40, col. 1.

8. *Arracan*.—Understand the town of Arakan or Myouk-u, now spelt Myo-haung.

9. *Mogol and Mogor*.—Manrique, I believe, regularly uses the form Mogol when referring to the Emperor, and 'Mogor' when speaking of his Muhammadan subjects.

11. *Asaranja*.—The word must mean 'king of Asaram.' Manrique distinguishes the kingdoms of 'Tipara' and Asaram, both of which, he says, bounded the Kingdom of Arakan on the north (p. 151b). The form Asaram must stand for Assam; but it is different from the forms discussed by Sir E. A. Gait in *Hist. of Assam*, Calcutta 1906, p. 240-241. I have met with old maps in which the kingdom of the Maghs is shown to extend along the Brahmaputra as far as Rangamati Ghat (the place from which in olden times travellers went to Koch Bihar), or at least as far as the Surma. Cf. *Bengal: Past and Present*, IV (1909), Plaisted's map of 1757 facing p. 601.

In this connection I may recall a quotation from Fray Sicardo, O. S. A. (1696): "In the camp of Bencomatis [Rangamati], on the confines of Assam, in the country subject to the King of the Maghs, there are two churches, one dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, the other to our Lady of Guadalupe." Cf. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Oct.-Dec. 1910, p. 221. Sicardo also states that the Portuguese settled at Rangamati had come from the Kingdom of the Maghs. The Church of O. L. of Guadalupe would have been different from that of the same title at Chittagong.

Van Goch, Vol. III, p. 89, says, after de l'Isle, that Assam on the south reaches 25°, and borders on Arakan. At pp. 53, 54, he states, after Ovington, that Arakan touches Tipora or Tipra, on the north, and the two towns (?) Asaram and Chocomas or Chacomas, both capitals of Kingdoms. Ovington borrows largely from Manrique, but Manrique says nothing of Chacomas.

The ending 'ja' of 'Asaranja' is found in Manrique in Pomaja, the name of the Governor of Ramu; in Alamanja, the name of a King of Chittagong; in Tontouja, the name of the Bhuiya of Orieta (p. 207a). Very likely, it is honorific.

12. *Christian women in the palace of Arakan*.—One of them was the wife of Leo Donno, the Japanese Captain. Cf. p. 98a.

P. 38, col. 2.

13. *Jasser*.—Jessore. They had gone evidently on one of their annual filibustering, slave-raiding expeditions against the 'Moghuls' of Bengal.

14. *Bartolome Gonzales Tibao*.—Probably related to Sebastião Gomes Tibao, King of Sundiva (1609), perhaps his son. Cf. Danvers, *Hist. of the Portug. in India*, s. v. Tibao. Antonio Tibao was Sebastião's brother (*ibid.*, II. 145).

NOTES TO CH. XII

P. 40, col. 1.

1. *Ramu*.—Ramu must have been reached, not by sea, but by the network of channels which connected it with Dianga. The Bengal Survey map, sheet No. 425 1" = 1 mile) identifies Ramu with Cox's Bazar. Sheets No. 79 and 84 of the Survey of India maps (scale 1:250,000) do not mark Ramu. L. S. S. O'Malley (p. 128) says it is a village in the Cox's Bazar sub-division, 9 miles east of Cox's Bazar, on the continuation of the Arakan road. It is a police outpost and an important market serving the south of the district. The map in O'Malley's *Gazetteer of Chittagong* shows Ramu east of Umkhali, and that seems to be the place visited by Manrique.

The Governor of Ramu in Manrique's time (p. 146b) was at the head of of the Chancery of Arakan, all farmans having to be endorsed by him.

P. 41, col. 1.

2. *The Mountains of the Prê*.—Manrique uses more than once for the name of a king or chief the name of the country: e.g. 'the Bruma' for 'the Burmese king.' 'The Prê' must be another instance. The mountains would have lain between Ramu

and the town of Peroem, which Manrique visited; but in the title of Ch. XIII, Manrique states that the mountains of the Prè separated Arakan from Pegu, and at p. 111, col. 2, we read that the high mountains of the Prè divide Arakan from Pegu on the south. Prè may have no affinity with Peroem, and, as the mountains traversed by Manrique run easterly into a chain which extends to the south as far as Prome, it may be that the mountains of the Prè are those of the king of Prome. Prome is written Prom by F. Mendez Pinto; another form I have found is Poreni, and the transition to Prè is easy. On examining *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Prome, I find my surmise correct. "The name is Talaing, properly *Bran*. The Burmese call it *Pyé* or (in the Arakanese form in which the *r* is pronounced) *Pré*, and *Pré-myo* ('city')." Bocarro's *Decada 13* (1876, p. 142), is quoted with the form *Pren*.

3. *Peroem*.—The position of this town remains to be determined. We make some guesses further, when discussing Manrique's itinerary from Ramu to Orietan (Ch. XIV). We can gather at least this, that it was on a river, or on the sea, and that Myau-haung, the old capital of Arakan, could be reached from there by boat. Peroem is probably an Arakanese form equivalent to the Prè-myo, Prome, Porom of Burma.

4. *Rhinoceroses in Arakan*.—O'Malley mentions among the fauna of Chittagong, tigers, wild elephants, bears, leopards, wild cattle, also *gayal* and *mithun* (*bos frontalis*), *sâmbat*, and the Sumatra rhinoceros with a horn and a hairy coat. Cf. pp. 12-13.

5. *A question of spelling*.—Whenever Manrique has to make the plural of an Asiatic proper noun ending in a consonant, he adds *es*. We find H. Cogan does generally the same in his translation of F. Mendez Pinto. It will simplify matters, if we follow Manrique's system. We shall not follow him, however, as a rule in his use of I for J, or Y for U, and U for V, except in his Latin quotations.

6. *Band-âhina* (Pers.): prison.

P. 41, col. 2.

7. There is a difficulty about the 2 leagues by boat from Ramu to the foot of the hills. Did the travellers go as far as Garjuna on the river, and from there join the road from Chittagong to Letyakan-Maungdaw-Pyabinyin? Did that road exist in those days? Garjuna is shown on the 1880-1885. scale map. On the 1"=1 mile map, 'Garjuna' is more than a mile away from the river, to the north; instead, we have a road to Arakan from Kaschlupia Market, which comes to the same.

From Ramu there is now a road to Tek Naf, but it does not suit Manrique's itinerary.

8. The word which we translate by "turret," is everywhere *adar* in the Spanish, a word without singular. We avoid the word "howdah" in our translation, because it is an Indian word not used by Manrique. The elephant which was loaded with the baggage seems to have had no howdah.

The howdah was water-proof. Hugh Murray (II. 103) says it was covered with oil-cloth. The Spanish does not say that.

P. 42, col. 1.

9. *A tiger near Ramu*.—From the ease with which the animal carried off its victim, we cannot doubt but it was a tiger.

10. *Tabib* (Arab.): physician. Manrique writes "tabibo" at pp. 83a, 87a.

P. 43, col. 2.

11. *The party for Arakan*.—*Aquellos infelizes, que iban en nuestra compania, que por todos eramos ochenta y tres personas*.—The party contained 53 prisoners and 30

soldiers; one of the soldiers having been killed by a tiger 2 leagues from Ramu, we get 82 persons. At p. 43b, Manrique says they were altogether 83; but, a few lines lower, we hear of 11 Christians; these would comprise Manrique, Captain Tibao, and 9 Christian servants. In fact, several Christian servants of the Captain are mentioned at p. 41b; a Christian slave of the Captain carried a message from Oristan to the Comngri (p. 57a); Manrique had taken also 2 Catechists from Angaracale and Dianga (p. 52b). The party therefore must have consisted of some 93 persons.

12. Probably, the howdah was not taken down for the night, as the place was infested with wild beasts. The next night, after the howdah had been broken, all slept on the trees.

13. *Mandando luego deshacer lo demas, que una quedado de las andas.* I understand that they took the howdah from the elephant and removed what was valuable in it, the cushions, carpets and quilts.

P. 44, col. 2.

14. *Kitāb* (Arab.): book.

15. *Injil* (Greek): Gospel, New Testament.

16. *Namāz* (Pers.): prayer.

17. *Nasrānī* (Arab.): a Christian.

18. *Shabbāsh, shābbāsh* (Pers.): bravo! excellent!

19. *Masjid, masjad* (Arab.): mosque, temple.

P. 45, col. 1.

20. *Bard rasūl*=great prophet.

21. *Taubā, taubāh* (Arab.)=repentance. The gesture and the exclamation of the Moors show that they were shocked.

P. 45, col. 2.

22. *Furqān* (Arab.): the Qurān (as distinguishing truth from falsehood).

23. *Padre ji, Allāh karīm, Allāh mīhar-bān.* *Ji* is often pronounced *jiu*.

P. 46, col. 1.

24. *Nasīb* (Arabic): fate, destiny.

P. 46, col. 2.

25. *The Mountains of Maum.*—Cf. Chapters 29, 30. Manrique visited these mountains from the town of Arakan in 1634, some Portuguese prisoners, who had been there since 1608, having invited him to come and see them. I am inclined to think Maum can be identified with Mhunau, some distance in the mountains N.-E. from Myo-haung (old Arakan town). Cf. sheet No. 84 of the 100,000 scale map, Survey of India. Abbate Tosi, who relies entirely on Manrique, places the mountains of Maum near the Maum river (Vol. II, pp. 34-35), which would give one to understand that they are what we now call the Mayu Range. The Mayu River does not take its rise in what I consider to be the 'Maum' mountains.

26. *Manrique's age and character.*—We know he died in 1669, but ignore the year of his birth. I fancy him in 1630 a man of about thirty, hale and hearty, naturally curious, taking an interest in everything he saw and heard, with a sufficient knowledge of Hindustani, Bengali and Arakanese (for he quotes from the Burmese books later), and not devoid of a sense of humour. He smiled or laughed too readily when engaged in discussions on religion. At least, so thought his Muhammadan co-travellers to Arakan (p. 44b). On another occasion (p. 180b) a Raulin told him that, if the Portuguese Raulins joked when talking of business, the Mogo Raulins did not.

What will strike more and more the reader as he proceeds, is the minuteness of Manrique's descriptions. There are hundreds of details, which, writing 10 or 15 years

after the events, he could not have remembered, unless he had an angelic memory. The conclusion must be that he kept a diary. Ordinary people do not keep diaries.

NOTES TO CH. XIII.

- P. 46, col. 2,
infra. 1. *The roar of tigers on the way*.—Phayre writes in his *Hist. of Burma*, pp. 271-272: "From what is said [by Manrique] of the 'roar of tygers and other wild animals,' it is probable that he heard the loud deep-toned cries of the hoolook ape, which resound dismally in those dark forest solitudes, and startle the traveller to this day. The doleful sounds would alarm those who did not know the source of it, for the animal generally keeps hidden from view." Phayre would not have spoken thus, if he had known Manrique from the original, instead of through Hugh Murray's *Histor. Account of the Discoveries and Travels in Asia*, II. 96-114.
- P. 49, col. 1. 2. *Out of breath*.—Not, I fancy, owing to the height, but to their fatigue.
- P. 49, col. 2. 3. I cannot find the word *ala* in any dictionary, European or Indian. Manrique knows the word *ati* for *hathi* or *hain* (Sanskrit)—elephant, but the feminine form of that word is *hathni*.
- P. 50, col. 1. 4. *Assarum*. = Assani, most probably.
- P. 50, col. 2. 5. *A canal cut across the mountains*.—Probably it was the sight of some of the traces of this engineering feat which called forth the Mogo tradition. The tradition must still exist and point to the exact place where the work was undertaken. In that case it would be possible to fix with accuracy the course of Manrique's journey through the mountains.
6. *The ridge of the Pora*.—The sitting posture of the idol is not characteristic of Buddha only. The statue does not appear to have been one of Buddha. There is more about the Pora in Ch. 23. The description there given should help some of my readers to identify the god. The attributes of the idol are much the same as those of the idol worshipped at Tinagoo-goo in Calaminham (Burma), and his horrid car-festival in December is almost the exact counterpart of what F. Mendez Pinto relates of Tinagoo-goo (cf. Mendez Pinto, ch. 47). I may also remark that Manrique uses frequently the word Pora in the plural, as if it were a generic name.
- The "epithet of Aloung-phura, or Phura-loung, has been assumed by many of the Kings of Burma, as an augury of their apotheosis, and implies a being who is destined to become a *phura*, by attaining '*niebban*.' Gautama attained '*niebban*' in 543 B. C., and thus became a Phura." Cf. Lieut. Gen. Fytche, *Burma, Past and Present*, London, 1878, I. 67.
- P. 51, col. 1. 7. The intention of the party seems to have been to continue by land to Arakan, since they spoke of using the elephants after Peroem. However, on arriving at Peroem, Manrique asked the Governor for a fast boat. As only one boat was supplied, the party of prisoners must have remained behind. There was not the same hurry for their departure, and the weather was bad for the journey by 'gelia.'

NOTES TO CH. XIV.

- P. 52, col. 1,
infra. 1. *Cerionis*.—This word is not in *Hudson-Jobson*. The King of Pegu, says Ralph Fitch (1587), goes abroad "sometimes vpon a great frame, like an horaliter, which hath

a little house upon it covered over head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with golde, and set with many rubies and sapphires, and is carried upon sixteen or eightene mens' shoulders. This coach in their language is called *Serion*." Cf. *Ralph Fitch*, p. 162; also p. 169. Manrique's *serion* was not a covered conveyance, since he had to use an umbrella; but some were covered (p. 217b).

2. *Sombreros*.—According to Fitch, the people of Medon, a place between Cosmin (Bassein) and Dela, in Pegu, "have all their merchandises in their boates with a great Sombrero or shadow over their heads to keepe the sunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele made of the leaues of the coco trees and fig [plantain?] trees, and is very light." *Ibid.*, p. 135. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Sombrero*, and *plantain*. *Sombrero* is derived from the Portuguese *sombra* = shade.

In 1709, the King of Ava called himself King of the twenty-four white Somereros or umbrellas. Cf. Capt. A. Hamilton, II. 44. "And as King of the twenty-four white Somereroes, I believe few Kings will much care to dispute that glorious title with him, for those Somereroes are only common China Umbrellaes, covered over with thin Chormondel Beteellaes, and their Canes lack'd and gilded, and because his own Subjects dare not use any such Umbrellaes, he wisely lays his imperial Commands on all other Kings to forbear wearing of them when they go abroad."

3. *Que tendran de rueda lo que tienen las Romanas de Michael Angelo Bonarota*. I translate as above, since Manrique makes *quitatoles* masculine. But, perhaps, the reference, is not to the parasols of the Roman ladies, but to the circumference of Roman cart-wheels in Michael Angelo's time. That, however, appears less likely.

4. Each of the four trays was carried by a servant, therefore.

5. *The Gulf of Maim*.—See my notes on Manrique's itinerary from Ramu to Orietan (n 19 *infra*). In Bocarro's *Decada 13* there is question of 3 fortresses in 1615, viz. those of Chatigão, Maju (also written Maim) and Ramu, "all three capitals of Kingdoms." Cf. Pt. I, p. 443.

6. *The New Moon in July 1630 and Manrique's chronology*.—

One of my friends, mathematically inclined, finds that the New Moon in July 1630 was on July 11. Now, either Manrique is mistaken, or I am wrong about the month, or the year 1630, which I assume all along as the year of Manrique's first journey to Arakan. It is a pity that Manrique obliges us to settle his chronology so painfully from the few dates he has given us. I do not see, however, how I can change the year 1630. A friend, who had repeatedly studied the book before me, had come to the same conclusion, when he noted marginally that the feast of the Visitation after which Manrique left for Arakan was that of 1630.

The feast of the Visitation since 1389 has been on July 2. Manrique arrived at Ramu on July 5, and he seems to have indicated his daily rate of progress up to Peroem. The courier who had come from Arakan to Dianga by land, under similar meteorological conditions, had covered a much longer distance in 12 days (June 19—June 30). Manrique's journey through the mountains from Ramu to Peroem appears to have been normal, except for the 4 days he lost at a river. Before the mathematician interfered, my conclusion was that Manrique had reached Peroem on July 16, and that as he was told the next day that there would be New Moon 4.

P. 52, col. 2.

P. 53, col. 1.

days later, this phenomenon occurred on July 21. Cf. note 19 of ch. XIV, where the dates in parentheses are deduced from the narrative. The New Moon of July 1629 was on the 22nd; but that year is out of the question, since Manrique had reached Dianga only on Sept. 25, 1629. The New Moon of July 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635 was on the 30th, 19th, 8th, 26th and 15th respectively, and the difficulty is not solved for any of those years.

The years 1633, 1634 and 1635 are not to be considered, besides, as we learn by working back from other data. Manrique left Pipili on Febr. 25, 1636 (p. 255b), after several months in Orissa, whither he had come from Arakan, after January 23 (1635), the date when the Emperor of Arakan was crowned (p. 214a). He had previously touched at Dianga, and he notes that he made his confession after about 2 years (p. 221b). This agrees with other statements. He says at p. 177a that, some 6 months before the Emperor's Coronation, he had been detained already 17 months at the town of Arakan. This would mean that he had come from Dianga about March 1633, which agrees with the statement that he was in Arakan, the second time, in 1634 (p. 143a). If his first journey to Arakan was in July 1630, he would have been back in January or February 1631, for he returned in January (year not given), after witnessing at Arakan the Sansaporau procession of December (1630). On June 19, 1630, a clear date, he had been at Dianga for the Corpus Christi feast (p. 157a). For the 11,407 baptisms of slaves conferred by himself and three companions between Sept. 25, 1629 and 1634, at Dianga and Angaracale, he would have been himself at these places only from Sept. 29, 1629, to July 2, 1630, January or February, 1631 to about March 1633, and a month or so in the beginning of 1635. One of these companions had died a fortnight after arrival (end of 1629?), and the two other companions arrived only nineteen months after that event, therefore not before the second half of 1632.

7. *Coram, or officer of justice*.—Etymology of the word unknown to me. Perhaps connected with the word Corangri (see note to p. 38a). At p. 147a, Manrique compares the 'corones' to the 'corchetes' or catchpolls of Spain and the *shirri* of Italy. For greed and mischief a single one of them, he says, was worth a legion of devils.

P. 33, col. 2.

8. *Orietan*.—I identify it with Uruttaung, on the mouth of the Kaladan river, above Akyab, on the 93° of long. Discussing the place-names in de Barros' and Bleau's map, H. Blochmann says he could not identify Maon (Maon in Bleau) and Orieton. Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, Pt. I, 1873, Plate IV and p. 233. Maon would be Manrique's Maum, but badly placed by de Barros. The latter also placed wrongly near Orieton Bacala Island and Bulua; the town of Arakan is also placed unsatisfactorily. Cf. de Barros, *Da Asia*, Dec. IV, Pt. II, map facing p. 450.

9. The hospitality of the Governor of Peroem may be compared with that of the Governor of Ramu (pp. 40a-41b). Manrique was everywhere treated with the honour due to an ambassador. At Ramu they were the Governor's guests at table, and he gave them 2 elephants; at Peroem, they were supplied with coronas, sombreros, food and a gelia; and, when they left the palace to embark, two elephants were in readiness to take the Priest and the Captain. All this was less spontaneous than in accordance with Mogo state-etiquette.

10. *Samberees*, with ivory handles, a sign of greatness.—Cf. Manrique, p. 219a.
- P. 54, col. 2. 11. *Paigues*.—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Pyke. It means a foot-runner or courier, a foot-soldier; and, in some other authors than Manrique, s. g., Bocarro, a seaman.
12. *Mirdah* (Hind.): an officer employed by government in villages, an overseer, excise-man. How do we come to the meaning of 'pilot'?
- P. 55, col. 2. 13. *Peroem*.—Abbate Tosi (II. 35) seems to run beyond his authorities when he writes: "After a dangerous navigation [from Orietan by the Gulf of Maum] one comes to the City of Peroem, which, as it is situated near the sea, and has a very capacious and commodious harbour, is very mercantile, and not a little frequented by foreigners. Here resides a Governor, who holds a goodly court, and wields almost absolute power."
- P. 55, col. 2. 14. *Patool* (Hind.): rudder.
- P. 56, col. 2. 15. *Chaukiddar* (Hind.) a watchman. "Custom-house" should be translated by *chauki*.
- P. 58, col. 1. 16. The Maghs, the Peguana, the people of Siam, Calamita, Champa and Tonquin.
17. *Swearing by the Para tattooed on one's right leg*.—"The Bramas which be of the kings country (for the King is a Bruma) have their legs or bellies, or some part of their body, as they think good themselves, made black with certain things which they have: they use to prick the skinn, and to put on it a kind of anile [indigo] or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an honour among them: but none may have it but the Bramas which are of the kings kindred." *Ralph Fitch*, on Pegu in 1587. And J. H. Ryley, adds (p. 173 n. 2). "The practice of tatooing the upper part of the leg is still in vogue among the male population of Burma."
- "The Barmaes imprint several Devices in their Skins, prick'd with a Bodkin, and the powder of Charcoal rubbed over the little Wounds, while the Blood continues wet in them, and the black marks remain ever after. The Peguers dare not paint their Skins, so that the Natives of each Nation are easily known by the distinguishing Mark of Painting or Plainness." Cf. Captain A. Hamilton, *A new Account of the East Indies*, II. 48-49.
- Major W. Gwynne Hughes' (*Hill Tracts of Arakan*, p. 15), quotes Mr. St. John (1870): "Tattooing is practised, but not as in Burma, the utmost being a few charms on the back or shoulders."
18. *The Poragri*.—See note 8 of the next Chapter.
19. I understand that the Coragri promised to bring him in 2 days, not to Arakan, but to the Poragri. From Orietan, in the Coragri's jalias, they arrived at the Pomagri in 2 days; from Poragri to Amkan, they took 2 days again.
- Manrique's itinerary from Ramu to Peroem and Orietan*.—The party left Dianga on July 3, 1630, and had reached Ramu by boat on the third day of their journey (July 5). Here they were told that the journey along the shore was impossible in the rainy season. They left Ramu on the second night after their arrival (July 6), and travelled in a covered boat for 2 leagues up to the foot of the mountains of the Pre. After leaving their boat, they travelled through a forest, till by 4 P.M. they came to

fields covered with water over an extent of two leagues. That night, the violence of the wind broke the howdah of one of their two elephants (*July 7*). The next day they crossed the swamp, ascended the mountain, and spent the night on the trees at the summit (*July 8*). Going down the next day at daybreak, they reached the foot by 11 A.M., and found some empty bamboo huts, where they took shelter. The huts had been made by a party of soldiers, who had passed there. The road was therefore not unfrequented. Under ordinary circumstances Peroem could be reached 2 days later (*July 9*). The following morning they climbed another high mountain, met a herd of wild buffaloes, and arrived at the summit late in the evening. As there was no shelter, they went to the foot, found no huts, and spent the night on trees, near a river (*July 10*). This was probably the Naf River, which lower down passes by Letyakan. They were detained 4 days by the rains and the swollen river (*July 11-14*). On the other side, they had to climb the highest mountain they met on the way; they reached the top at night, and descended for half a league to sleep on the trees. Their sleep was disturbed by wild elephants (*July 15*). The highest point I find in the map is Kulungataung, 2512 ft., but I doubt very much whether they passed that way. The next morning, they continued the descent, and hoped to reach Peroem that day. Arriving in the valley, they walked two leagues, till they came to two smaller ridges divided by a deep river. Remark about the projected canal across the mountains. Their way lay over the ridge to their left. On top was a statue of the Pora. At the foot, they crossed rice fields and arrived at 'Peroem,' when it was almost night (*July 16*).

Peroem was on a river, and an important place, since it had a governor. They spent only one day there (*July 17*) and in the morning (*July 18*) set out in a 'galia,' after being told that they would find it very hard to cross the Gulf of 'Maum.' Peroem seems, therefore, to have been on the Maum, by which I understand the Mayu River. Was it perhaps Buthidaung? Some 20 miles higher up the river, there is a place called Pelun, but how could the travellers have come from there in one day to the mouth of the Mayu River? Besides, the river at Peroem was broad, since it is compared to the sea. Even Buthidaung may not answer our requirements.

As they had only one galia, we suppose that the prisoners and the soldiers were left behind.

After 5 hours of hard rowing, they reached the middle of the current of the Gulf of Maum, struggled on for 2 hours, travelled another 2 leagues, and by the evening ran into the Gulf of Orintan, where they landed for the night (*July 19*). The next day, going up 'rivers,' they reached the harbour of Orintan (*July 20*).

Orintan is evidently the Uritlaung of our maps, some 15 miles above Akyab, at the mouth of the Kaladan River. They must have reached Uritlaung from the mouth of the Mayu river, going, not round by sea, but across a network of inland channels; else, I do not understand the use of the word "rivers."

Some parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are unsurveyed in the 1"=1 mile map, and this increases the difficulty of following Manrique's journey in the mountains.

NOTES TO CH. XV.

2. *Peacocks*.—Pheasants are mentioned in the fauna of Chittagong; not peacocks. But we may trust Manrique.

P. 59, col. 2.

3. *Cheapness of food*.—We have adduced many instances of this cheapness in Ch. 5, note 17; Ch. 6, note 12.

4. *Manrique's itinerary from Orietan to Poragri and Arakan*.—The Corangri, who was 3 leagues from Orietan, sent a jalia of his guard, which brought Manrique and Captain Tibao to where the fleet was anchored. The Corangri told Manrique to give up the route to Arakan, as the King was at the Poragri, and take another, by which he would send them (to the Poragri?) in two days. He gave him 3 jalias. They started on the second day after their arrival at Orietan, crossing the Gulf of Orietan, in calm weather. They seem, therefore, to have returned to Orietan after their visit to the fleet, and the fleet would then have been lower down the river. Next, they went by rivers. The following day, after two hours of sunshine, they were in open, well cultivated country, and by night arrived at the Poragri. Unable to reach the *ghât*, which the boats of the King's retinue blocked, they moored their jalia more than a league below.

Contiguous to Urittaung there is a place called Ponnagyin; but it cannot be our Poragri. It would be the place of the Orietan pagoda mentioned by Schouten, I. 196. The name must be a common one in a land of pagôdas, the chief god of which is a 'Pon.' There is a Ponnagyitaung some 20 miles south-east of Urittaung. It has a pagoda, and the map shows it could be reached through a network of rivers. From there to Myohauing, or the town of Arakan, there is communication by water. Manrique travelled from Poragri to Arakan by jalia, stopping one night on the way and arriving the next day at his destination. At the place where they stopped for the night, the chief Portuguese of Arakan town came in their boats to meet him.

The position of Poragri would be defined by that of the villages of Cuami, if Cuami could be found. Cf. note 9 to Ch. xvi.

5. *Ghât* (Sanskrit)=landing place.

P. 60, col. 1.

6. *Floating towns of Arakan*.—This multitude of boats is typical of Arakan, Pegu, and parts of China. For the latter, see F. M. Pinto, *op. cit.*, Ch. 28. Ralph Fitch (1587) says of Cosmin (Rassain, Pegu): "They goe all too and fro in boates; which they call paroes, and keepe their houses with wife and children in them." The same at Medon, "a pretty towne, where there be a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keepe their houses and their markets in them all vpon the water." *Ralph Fitch* by J. H. Ryley, pp. 154-155.

That the pleasure boats of the Kings of Arakan and Pegu were truly magnificent, could easily be proved from the Portuguese historians.

P. 60, col. 2.

7. *Escomillos, or gauze from China*.—Our suggestion at note 13 of Ch. IV, viz. that escomillas came perhaps from Comilla, receives a check here. We had not then come across this passage in Manrique.

8. I am not sure of the author's meaning. The Spanish is "muchas cortes de Europa, adonde esta en uso que despues que reciben las manchas, quedan tan limpios, como si la mancha fuera de agua, pues no dura en muchos la memoria de la auer recebida, mas de lo que dura la mancha de agua, que cae en el vestido."

By stain, Manrique seems to allude to "receiving a bribe." The dictionaries translate "mancha" by "stain, blot, stigma."

P. 61, col. 1.

9. *A bribe of some tangas.*—Under Sikandar Buhlot (1488-1517) we find *thak* (or copper) tankas. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, v. s. tanga. I do not think that the expression *tangas de mancha* is based on that. I translate by "bribe of some tangas." See note 8 above. At p. 59b, Manrique says that a tanga is a rupee (Arakan). So too Schouten (I. 301) in 1660: "The smallest silver pieces current in Aracan are worth a Tang, or Moorish Roupie, which is 25 Sous, Dutch money, and when you change one, you get 2660 couris [cowries]."

"Their current money in these parts [Pegu] is a kinde of brasse, which they call Gansa, wherewith you may buy golde, silver, rubies, muske, and all other things.... This brasse money doeth goe by a weight which they call a bira; and commonly this bira after our account is worth about halfe a crowne or somewhat lesse." (1587). Cf. J. Horton Ryley, *Ralph Fitch*, pp. 165-166. The Peguans, says Capt. Alex. Hamilton (1709), have "plenty of Gansa or lead, which passeth all over the Pegu Dominions for Money." Cf. II. 40.

10. *The Pachiqui, or master of the king's household.*—Derivation unknown. At p. 78b there is question of the Chiqui, or Aguazil mayor, chief constable. The form of the latter word for Pegu is given as Chirca in Fernão Mendez Pinto, *op. cit.*, pp. 438, 439, 458. "The Chirca of Justice, who is as the sovereign superintendent thereof above all others" (p. 438).

The Counsellors of the kingdom of Arakan "are called Sikken." Follows a description of their costume. Cf. Valentyn, 5de deel, p. 142a. For the spelling Sicken, cf. *ibid.*, p. 141b. And see Schouten, I. 297.

P. 61, col. 2.

11. *Japanese Christian soldiers at Arakan.*—Father Anthony Farinha, S. J., who went from Dianga to the town of Arakan in (1639?), speaks of 3 bandels at Arakan: that of the Japanese, that of the Portuguese, and that of the other foreigners, Dutch, English and French. "Having been received by the King, they [the Japanese] had settled there in large numbers with their families; all were Christians." From an (annual?) letter of 1640 (Province of Cochin?). Cf. *Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, January 23, 1907, p. 59. Had they fled from the cruel persecutions to which they and their Missionaries were then subjected at home? The number of foreign soldiers in the armies of Burma at different times is something remarkable. Large numbers were from India. Cf. Fernão Mendez Pinto, *op. cit.*, pp. 301 (where the number is given as 36,000), 305, 313, 321, 423.

P. 62, col. 2.

12. *Digripara.*—It was a quarter of the town of Arakan where the Catholics were settled. Cf. p. 198a, where Manrique notes that it was near the Church he erected at Arakan (1630). There the form is Digripar. See also p. 82a. Schouten, who has an interesting description of the place (I. 284-286) says it was 2 leagues above the town, while the Dutch handel was at a big league below the town (I. 197).

13. *Nal* (Sanskrit): a reed (*Arundo karka*); a tube, joint of bamboo; *nal* (Sanskrit): tube.

14. *Chongá* (Hind.): a funnel.

P. 62, col. 1.

15. *Rota* (from Malay *rotan*): rattan. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. rattan.

"The Quality of an Officer [in Ava] is known by his Tobacco Pipe having an earthen or metallick Head, with a Socket to let in a jointed Reed, that on its upper End has a Mouth-piece of Gold, jointed as the Reed or Cane is, and by the Number of Joints in the golden Mouth-piece, the Quality of the Officer is known, and Respect paid him accordingly." Capt. A. Hamilton, II. 47.

16. *Standing up out of respect*.—When the Corangri swore by the Pora, he stood up, and so did Manrique and the Portuguese Captain (p. 58a). Here, all remain standing as long as the Puchique speaks in the King's name.

17. *The King of Arakan, the master of our heads*.—The expression will occur repeatedly in Manrique. "The sovereign of our heads," is the title given by the people of Pegu to their king (1545) in F. Mendez Pinto's travels, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

P. 64, col. 2.

18. *Bhāl* (Hind). brother.

19. I have not been able to identify the word 'sumbaya.' It is commonly used in Goa for "bowing and scraping."

NOTES TO CH. XVI.

P. 65, col. 2.
infra.

1. *The Arakanian wife eats*.—"These people [the Peguans] do eat roots, herbs, leaves, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes; they refuse almost nothing" (1587). *Ralph Fitch, op. cit.*, p. 161. Manrique mentions also bats (p. 211a).

P. 66, col. 1.

2. *Sdg* (Sanskrit): greens, vegetables.

3. The Spanish word "bledo" means properly wild amaranth.

4. *Sídel*.—Origin of the word unknown to me.

5. *The better kind of sídel*.—"Every morning, these Mandareens are obliged to attend at Court, and after his Majesty [of Ava] has drest and breakfasted, which is generally on a Dish of Rice boiled in fair Water, and his Sauce is some Shrimps dried and powder'd, and some salt and Cod-pepper mix'd with those two Ingredients, and that Mixture makes a very pungent Sauce, which they call *prock*, and is in great Esteem and Use among the Peguers" (1709). Cf. Capt. A. Hamilton, II. 42. "The fish, which already stinks, is the most esteemed by them, and is sold dearest, as we have often seen while passing through the fish-markets." Schouten, I. 300, 301. There is question of the town of Arakan in 1660.

P. 66, col. 2.

6. *Cathay*.—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Probably, Tibet is meant here.

7. The Spanish word for "cloth" is "limite": cloth made of Segovia wool; cloth of the first quality.

P. 67, col. 1.

8. *No new Augustinians sent to Arakan during 7 years*.—Cf. note 3 to Ch. X. Manrique might have said 8 years now, for the man spoke in 1630, and, already in 1629, Manrique had said that there had been wars for 7 years, during which no new Missionaries had come. The wars would have begun in 1622, when the king reigning in 1630—we have identified him with Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma—ascended the throne. Sháh Jahán was then at war in Bengal against his father Jahángír.

The Japanese Christians said that they had not been visited by their Prelate or any other Father for more than 7 years (p. 62b). Of the 40 Christians who made their confession to Manrique at the Poragri (p. 68b), some had not been to confession

for 8 or 9 years, or at least 2 or 3 years (p. 67a). For the last 2 years the Japanese had asked the King in vain for permission to build a chapel at their bandel at Arakan (p. 67a).

P. 68, col. 2.

9. *The 9 Bengali (?) Christian families at the village of Cuami.*—The Christian who had not been to confession for 19 years (i. e., from 1611) lived at half a day's journey from Poragri. We hear there were 9 Christian families (p. 69a). They lived in the villages of Cuami (p. 77b), or, as they are also called, at the villages of the Poragri (p. 91a). When called, 5 Christians were immediately sent on; 9 others were 3 days farther in charge of the king's elephants. The place could not have been far; in three days they could go from Poragri to their villages and be back (p. 80a). See also p. 90b-91a. At p. 79a, they state that they had been captured 13 years before, (i. e., 1617), when the King's father reigned (p. 68b). Cuami may be connected with the Kamis, of whom several settlements are found along the Kaladan River.

P. 69, col. 1.

10. *Raulins.*—A general name for Buddhist priests in Arakan, says Manrique (p. 132a). Manrique does not use the word Talapoin in connection with Arakan or Burma. The word Raulin ought to have a special entry in *Hobson-Jobson*, but I find it there only in a quotation from F. Mendez Pinto, s. v. Talapoin.

P. 69, col. 2.

11. *Birds carrying messages to the gods.*—On his way from Nanquin to Pequin, F. Mendez Pinto describes a floating town on the river Batampina. "...There were many boats likewise, where there were men that had a great many of cages, full of live birds, who playing on divers instruments of musick, exhorted the people with a loud voice, to deliver those poor creatures of God, that were there in captivity, wherupon many came and gave them money for the redemption of those prisoners, which presently they let out of the cages; and then as they flew away, the redeemers of them cried out to the birds, *Pichou pitonel calan tucazi*, that is, *Go and tell God, how we serve him here below*. In imitation of these, there are others also, who in their ships kept a great many of live fishes in great pots of water, and like the sellers of birds invite the people, for God's cause, to free those poor innocent fishes, that have never sinned; so that divers bought many of them, and casting them into the river, said, *Get ye gone, and tell there below the good I have done you for God's sake*." (Ch. 28). I remember reading not long ago that at Lucknow, in the thirties of last century, Indians would come with bird-cages in their hands, run along the carriage of an English gentleman occupying one of the highest dignities in the land, and set the birds free to do him honour.

12. *The Peguan and Moghul guard of the King of Arakan.*—The Chauhainhas of Martaban had in his army (1545) 36,000 strangers of different nations. "Portugals, Grecians, Venetians, Turks, Janizaries, Jews, Armenians, Tartars, Mogores, Abyssins, Raibutoes, Nobins, Coracones, Persians, Tupamas, Gizares, Turucos, Malabares, Jaos, Achens, Moens, Sians, Lussins of the Islands Botneo, Chacomaz, Arraconis, Predin, Papuas, Seletues, Mindancas, Pegus, Rinnas, and many others whose names I know not. All these nations were ranked according to the Xenimbrums order, whereby the Portugals were placed in the vanguard, which was next to the gate of the city, when the Chauhainhas was to come. After them followed the Armenians, then the Janizaries and Turks, and so the rest." F. Mendez Pinto, end of Ch. 47.

P. 70, col. 1.

13. *The palace at the Poragri.*—The palace of Atakan had three walls, each with a gate (Schouten, I. 289): the palace at the Poragri was probably on the same plan. At any rate, Manrique, was there made to pass through three halls before he came to the audience-hall, where the king showed himself sitting at a window. At the end of another interview at the Poragri, he accompanied the king up to the third door, where only women and eunuchs were allowed to enter with the king (p. 78a).

14. *Palmerin and Esplandian.*—Don Quixote's library contained the history of Palmerin of Oliva, and another of Palmerin of England. Cf. *Adventures of Don Quixote de la Mancha*, transl. by Motteux, London, Warne & Co., Ch. 6, p. 22. The adventures of Don Esplandian, son of Amadis de Gaul and Oriana, formed a special book in Don Quixote's library, those of Amadis filling 4 volumes (*ibid.*, p. 22). The author of Don Esplandian's exploits is Montalvo.

P. 70, col. 2.

15. *A reception calculated to impress the visitor with one's master's greatness, etc.*—The rudeness of the dwarfish eunuch was in keeping with eastern etiquette. Hear how the ambassador of the King of Burma was received at Timpan, the Court of the King of Calaminham (Burma) in 1545, F. Mendes Pinto being one of the ambassador's party. He was expected, just as Manrique was: the guards had been drawn up in great numbers to salute him: the greatest demonstrations of respect were shown him while he passed through the different courts and halls leading up to the King's apartments; the King's uncle was waiting for him in one of the halls, and touching him on the head with a 'ventiloe' [fan] which he had in his hand, he spoke almost in the very words used by the lovely Annunciatrix of Manrique. "May thy entrance into this palace of the Lord of the World be as agreeable to his eyes as the rain is to our field of rice, for so shall he grant thee all that thy King demands of him." They moved through another hall, and up a splendid bridge. "At the end of this bridge was another building, the doors whereof we found shut, whereupon we knocked 4 times, they within not deigning to answer us, which is a ceremony observed by them in such occasions. At the length after we had rung a bell 4 times more, as it were in haste, out comes a woman of about 50 years of age accompanied with 6 little girls, richly attired, and scymitars upon their shoulders garnished with flowers wrought in gold. This ancient woman having demanded of the Monvagaruu [the King's uncle, who was past 70 years] why he had rung the bell, and what he would have, he answered her with a great deal of respect, "That he had there an ambassadour from the King of Bramaa, the Lord of Tanguu, who was come thither to treat at the feet of the Calaminham about certain matters much importing his service." By reason of the great authority which this woman was in, she seemed little to regard this answer, wherat we wondred much, because he that spoke to her was one of the chiefest Lords of the Kingdom, and uncle to the Calaminham, as it was said. Nevertheless one of the 6 girls that accompanied her, spake thus in her behalf to the Manvagaruu, "My lord, may it please your greatness, to have a little patience till we may know whether the time be fit for the kissing of the foot of the throne of this Lord of the World, and advertising him of the coming of this stranger, and so according to the grace which our Lord will shew him therein, his heart may rejoyce, and we with him." That said, the door was shut again for the space of three or four

Credo's, and then the six girls came and opened it, but the ancient woman that at first came along with them we saw no more." And not a little more to the same effect of impressing the visitor. True barbarians in many things, these potentates were far advanced in matters of politeness. See F. Mendes Pinto, Ch. 49.

16. *Saluting the King 3 times*.—Probably they performed more than the *tassatima*, which Manrique explains at p. 77b. They must have actually knelt down and with their forehead touched the ground.

17. *Knelling before the King*.—"When Pots of Water, or Baskets of Fruits are carried through the Streets for the King's use [in Ava], an Officer attends them, and all the People that fortune to be near, must fall on their Knees, and let it pass by, as a good Catholick does when he sees the Host" (1709). Cf. Capt. Alex. Hamilton, II, 45.

When Manrique visited the old Pegu Queen at Arakan, 6 women were kneeling before her (p. 99b); and, when the Chique had to read in public one of the King's farmans, both he and all the audience were on their knees (p. 104b). The King's eldest son, on presenting something to his father, knelt before him (p. 102a).

P. 71, col. 1. 18. *The Ramalla or interpreter of the Portuguese*.—He was not a Portuguese. At p. 75b, he is described as the interpreter for the Portuguese language. Etymology of the word unknown to me.

19. See Ch. XI, p. 36a (*infra*), note 1. The derivation of the word Boarain remains to be explained.

P. 71, col. 2. 20. *Captivity of the son of the king of Arakan*.—This happened in 1602-03. Cf. Danvers, II, 228. Frey Francisco d' Anunciação, a Dominican, brought him back to Arakan in 1607, and was offered alms at Dianga, but asked that revenues should be applied to the convent of his Order then building at Siriam. Cf. Fr. Luis Cacegas and Fr. Luis de Sousa, *Hist. de S. Domingos*, Pt. III, Lisboa, 1767, p. 352b.

21. *11,000 families carried off captive from Bengal in one year*.—Manrique says at p. 152, col. 2, that within the "5 years" of his stay in Arakan (1629-33), the Portuguese and Magh slave-raiders brought to Dianga and Angaracala about 18,000 souls from Bengal. Jessore, Solimanva, Bacala, Hujil and Orissa were the chief hunting grounds; no part was secure from Chittagong to the Hugli. The pilgrims at Saugor Island were much exposed.

P. 72, col. 1. 22. *Abdu-n-Nabl, Governor of Dacca in 1619*.—Can anyone favour me with a note about this governor?

23. Dacca.

24. *Mahind*; (Pers. Hind.) : month, monthly pay.

25. *Faleziangui, Governor of Dacca in 1623*.—Ibrahim Khán Fatha Jang was a relation of the celebrated Núr Jahán Begam, whose mother's sister he had married. When Qasim Khán was recalled to court from Bihár in the 12th year of Jahángir (1616), Ibrahim Khán was appointed to Bihár with the rank of 4000. He was killed at Dacca, A. D. 1623, A. H. 1032, in battle against Prince Khurram (afterwards Shah Jahán), who had rebelled against his father Jahángir. Cf. Beale's *Orient. biogr. Dictien.*, 1894, p. 173, and see Stewart's *Hist. of Bengal*, 1813, pp. 221-229. On both Abdu-n-Nabl and Fatha Jang, see Manrique, p. 151. The former attacked

Chittagong by sea, the latter by land, in the reign of Xalamixa (the Second ?); and, but for the 750 Portuguese in Xalamixa's service, Chittagong would have been taken.

P. 73, col. 2

26. *Etiquette to be observed towards Ambassadors and by them.*—The Puchique, or Master of the Household, was told to fetch Manrique and Captain Tibao with two elephants and give them good lodgings. He came to acquaint them with his instructions; then, taking them in his brigantine up to the ghât of Poragri, where four elephants with gilt howdahs, cerions and carriers were waiting, he conducted them to his own house, treated them to a sumptuous repast, and showed them their lodgings. On the day fixed for the audience, he came to fetch them and had them taken in cerions to the palace. Manrique's present must have been sent ahead, for such was the custom he observed on other occasions (p. 99a). In fact, the presents were brought to the King by eunuchs. When Manrique went to the town of Arakan later (chs. 17, 18), a kotwâl was made to accompany him and arrange for his lodgings. He was also supplied with food, according to custom.

We may compare with this what happened on the occasion of the Dutch embassy (1660) related by Schouten (I. 196 *seq.*). At the Dutch Bandel of Arakan, a big league below the town, the 'Sickes' or Counsellors of the King, came on board, and some of them took offence that they had to pass under a bridge over which stood some of the Dutch. When the Captain gave the Dutch President of the Lodge the letter of the Governor of Batavia, the latter held it up, according to custom, to be seen by all, as a sign that the good relations between the two nations continued. The Sickes, after receiving their presents, took them off in their jalias, and the Dutch officers of the Lodge carried the letter, according to custom, to the Lodge, where it was to remain until the King allowed an audience. As the letter was not allowed to pass under decks or bridges over which people passed, a number of elephants were waiting on the bank of the river to take it to the Lodge.

On the day of the audience, the Embassy started. The Kotwâl of the Bandel went ahead on an elephant, followed by a large retinue. Then came the 'Roos,' or second magistrate of the Bandel, with a similar suite and musicians. The Dutch came next with their presents. The President rode an elephant, and the Captain and the clerk came on another. The procession traversed the town and all got down at the entrance to the palace. They passed several big gates (for there were three lines of walls), and traversed other places up to the audience-hall. Only the President, the Captain and the clerk were now allowed to proceed, and not till they had taken off their shoes.

"After that they were led all three through divers apartments to the audience-hall, where a large number of Sickes, and of the greatest Lords of the Realm were seated richly dressed on magnificent carpets, their legs crossed under their body. Presently, the Dutch were told to bow, as if they had been squatting [*sic*], to bend their head to the ground, their hands joined on their forehead, and to reiterate several times these deep reverences and humble inclinations.

"Then the King appeared, coming out of a closet, and all held their hands joined on the forehead, and bent their head, as if they dared not look at His Majesty. The three Dutchmen always kept the said posture, without daring to raise their eyes and

behold the Monarch. They tried withal to have a peep at him, but two chamberlains, who watched them, quickly got hold of their head, and made them bow."

The interpreter received the letter and the presents, and placed them very humbly in the hands of those who had to receive them. After complimenting the King in the name of the Dutch, he asked them in his master's name about the health of his brother, the Governor of Batavia. The presents given to the Dutch were despicable. They received them on their heads, not daring to move, and found out only by and by that they were not worth more than 3 ryksdalers. When the King withdrew, they were allowed to rise. They returned in the same state in which they had come, and the cramped condition they had been forced to keep so long made them call for the services of the surgeon and historian, Schouten.

[*To be continued.*]

The Members' Note-Book.

THE following interesting facts about the Calcutta Maidan are extracted from the judgment of Mr. Justice A. Chowdhuri recently delivered on the Calcutta Turf Club case :—

"I do not understand that it is seriously questioned that the land in question belongs to the Crown. At the date of the Dewany (12th August 1765) the East India Company held by purchase the Talukdari right of Calcutta and of the adjacent villages Sutanutty and Gobindpore. In 1717 the revenue of the Taluq was fixed, and in 1758 the Port and City of Calcutta was made *lakhtas* in the hands of the Company. The Company had acquired by the year 1765 all the rights in the revenue of Calcutta and its villages. (See Harrington's *Analysis*, Volume I, pp. 2-3, and Aitchison's *Treaties*, Volume I). The lands of these three villages were partly occupied by the Company, but the major part was held by tenants who paid rent to the Company direct. The lands of Calcutta thus became Khas mehal. The ground rent payable to the East India Company, is revenue within the meaning of 21 George III C. 70. (See section 2 of Act 23 of 1850.) On the 29th June 1790, the year when the first rules for the Decennial Settlement were passed, it was directed that land in Calcutta which had always been managed as zamindari in the hands of the Government, was to be considered as pledged for the revenue, and liable to be sold for arrears in the hands of the purchaser from the defaulter. (See Colebrooke's *Supplement* 492). Reg. IX of 1793 provided amongst other things the right of the Government to assess lands held by the Crown and by Reg. II of 1793 the collection of revenue payable to Government was committed to Collectors, who were empowered to make the future settlement of Khas or farmed Estates. In 1793 the Government transferred in perpetuity a vast quantity of land to *zemindars*, and the property in the soil was formally declared vested in them. The remaining lands cultivated or waste continued to be the property of the State.

Act 23 of 1850 was passed as it was deemed expedient to ascertain and collect the land revenue accruing due to the East India Company within Calcutta.

It is clear therefore that the Government was in khas possession of the estate and assessed revenue upon it by making settlements, at the time Statute 21 and 22 Vict. C. 100 came into operation, and when the Government was transferred to the Crown. Section 2 of that Act known as the

Government of India Act, 1858 provided that revenues of or arising in India receivable by, or in the name of the East India Company shall be received for and in the name of Her Majesty, and Section 3, that one of the Principal Secretaries of State shall have and perform all such or like powers or duties in anywise relating to the Government or revenues of India, then exercised by the East India Company, save as therein provided. Section 39 vests the real property of the Company in Her Majesty for the purpose of the Government of India, and Section 40 gives full powers to the Secretary of State in Council to sell and dispose of all real and personal estate whatsoever for the time being vested in Her Majesty under the Statute, and authorises such conveyances and assurances as may be necessary.

Section 1 of Statute 22 and 23 Vict. C. 41 gives similar power to the Governor-General in Council.

It seems clear to me that the Secretary of State for India, and the Governor-General in Council have statutory authority to demise lands by way of lease, and make settlement of land in the khas possession of the Government.

* * * * *

The right claimed in this suit is that "the Calcutta Maidan is vested in the Government in trust for the free use and enjoyment of the public subject only to certain conditions requisite for military purposes" and that "the plaintiff is entitled at all times to free access to and uses of all parts of the said maidan, including the race course and enclosures, subject to the military conditions aforesaid."

The Calcutta maidan stretches from Government House and the Eden Gardens on the north, to Tolly's Nullah on the south, Chowringhee lying on the east and the river and the Fort on the west. The race course is on the south-west side of the maidan (*Imp. Gazetteer*, pp. 280-281). Of the three villages which constitute the present town of Calcutta Gobindpur was cleared of its inhabitants, and the foundations of the present Fort were laid. The clearing of the jungle led to the formation of the maidan (*Imp. Gazetteer of India*, Ed. 1908, Vol. IX, p. 264). This took place about 1773. The maidan is part of the khas mehal Estate. It is an open expanse of land in the nature of a park. There is nothing to show that a trust was ever created in favour of the public, or that the Government of India or Bengal were ever appointed Trustees by the Crown for its use by the public. If a right of such a character is claimed on behalf of the public, which cuts down the proprietary right of the Crown, it must be strictly proved. To determine the question of such a right the Secretary of State is a necessary party. I have already dealt with this point and do not want to repeat myself. The only piece of evidence on the record about a Trust, which has been relied upon by the

plaintiff, is a letter dated the 31st July 1893 from the Government of Bengal, Public Works Department (Military), to the Quarter Master General of India.

A question had at that time arisen between the Governor of Bengal and the Military authorities relating to certain rules for the control of Building Operations, etc., on the Calcutta Maidan as to the respective rights of the two departments in the matter.

The Lieutenant-Governor stated in his letter that a question had arisen in 1854 regarding the Conservancy and control of the maidan, and an order had been passed by Lord Dalhousie then Governor of Bengal, under which the maidan was held by the Lieutenant-Governor for the use and enjoyment of the public subject to certain conditions. He objected to the contemplated rules as likely to lead to confusion and inconvenience by dividing the control. The letter proceeds :—

"As already explained the maidan is now held by the Lieutenant-Governor for the free use and enjoyment of the public, subject only to certain military conditions which have been understood, and accepted both by the Civil and Military authorities for many years passed to be as follows :—

- (a) That the Military authorities are to have the free use of the entire maidan for parades and military exercises.
- (b) That the Military authorities are to have a certain part of the maidan set apart for military encampments.
- (c) That the Military authorities are to exercise the full right of veto in the case of permanent or quasi-permanent buildings on the maidan which are objectionable from a military point of view."

and the Lieutenant-Governor adds that he deprecates any interference with broad principles so laid down."

A Member has sent us the following :

"In reply to your enquiry regarding the Jail site, I replied some time ago that it was within the boundaries of Fort William regarded as a Cantonment, but that I was not sure whether it could be viewed as actually on the "Esplanade" of the fortress. I cannot find that any distinction has ever been made between the boundaries of the land attached to Fort William and the actual Esplanade, but on the other hand the Military Department do not seem to have ever exercised any rights over the land within the Jail enclosure. This is probably owing to the fact that the Jail or a jail existed before Fort William was built."

The matter referred to in the last sentence is well worth investigating in view of the controversy on the Presidency Jail site which Mr. J. Mulvany had in the *Statesman* with the Ven. Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger about a year ago. The Presidency Jail site has made room for the Victoria Memorial Hall.

Khan Bahadur Dewan Fazl Rubbee writes —

A FAMOUS SWORD AT THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL, CALCUTTA:—

This deals with the history of a rare and historical sword which once belonged to Emperor Aurungzeb and was presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by the late Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, Amir ul-Omrah, G. C. I. E.

The sword originally belonged to Emperor Shah Jahan. It is not definitely known how the House of Murshidabad came by it. The history associated with it is remarkably interesting. With it Aurungzeb conquered the whole of India. He and his courtiers held a superstitious idea about it. It was made in Delhi. The engraving on it is in Arabic character and reads as follows: "Labul Billa Anatoh Illa Billah Alial Azeem Alungir Marka In" (There is no power but in God who is great and high conqueror of the world, seeker of the war).

Sir-i-Mutakhirin pages 301-02 mentions that Aurungzeb after gaining victory over Dara Shikoh in a pitched battle marched towards Akberabad (Agra) and encamped in the Bagh Nur Manzil in the vicinity of that city. Shah Jahan seeing Aurungzeb victorious treated him leniently and with kindness and sent an autographic letter through Qazil Khan Meer Saman (Lord Steward) and Sayed Hidayet Ullah Sadar (Chief Justice) in reply to Aurungzeb's letter. They waited upon Aurungzeb, handed over the letter and conveyed verbal messages from Shah Jahan to him. Aurungzeb received them cordially and conferred on them Khilut (Robes of Honor). Next day they were again sent by Emperor Shah Jahan to Aurungzeb with messages of kindness and the present of a sword named "Alungir." The gift of this sword to Aurungzeb from his father Shah Jahan was considered very auspicious by him and his courtiers, and henceforward he styled himself as Alungir (The conqueror of the world).

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—XI.

No. 467.

CALCUTTA.

The 20th January 1776.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF SANDWICH

MY LORD,

The unhappy divisions which commenced with the new Government still continue, and I have no reason to flatter myself or your Lordship with the prospect of their termination. A union which concentrates all power binds the individuals by ties of interest too strong to be easily shaken. This defect is in the constitution which precludes your first officer superior weight in the administration and levels his station to that of the meanest of his Council. Hence must arise compacts amongst the members to an exclusion of their fellows who shall not be wanted to form a majority, and while the desire to possess and exercise power has its influence upon men, and any three of the five members who compose the Council-General use the Government. It will scarcely ever consist of more. The equilibrium necessary to be preserved in a Government so remote as this is from the mother country require the parts composing it to be separate [and] distinct and natural checks on each other. Otherwise the balance cannot be maintained. An influence will arise to swerve it to partial purposes and sometimes individuals, sometimes the public will have reason to complain of the consequences. The subject is of importance, and your Lordship probably will be inclined to give it your consideration. In this idea, I have presumed to present it to you that such Regulations may be devised and recommended as your Lordship shall judge expedient and salutary.

I believe it was the general sense of people in England that the institution of a Supreme Court of Judicature would be ill received by all classes European sojourners and natives of this country. How far different. This novelty, which at first alarmed, was soon welcomed. The protection it held out to all ranks against the violence of party resentments and pursuits evinced the care of the Legislature in guarding the rights of mankind, a

blessing amply acknowledged by the universal voice and testified in various addresses to the honour of the nation that fixed this barrier to encroachments of despotic power and to the honor of the gentlemen who fill the tribunal of justice. The full employment that has been given to the Governor and myself by the spirit of cavil and debate has allowed us but little leisure to examine the internal state of the country and will apologise for the lapse of time we have permitted without offering any thought for dispensing criminal and civil justice throughout the provinces. An object of such magnitude demanded a careful revisal of the local customs and manners of the people, how far they might be modified under the present act of Parliament and how far assimilated, so that the country courts might, under a proper dependence, act without obstruction from the Supreme Court of Judicature and the religious prejudices of the natives not be alarmed. A plan to this end I submit to your Lordship's inspection. Another copy is sent to my Lords Mansfield and North by the Governor-General. I cannot flatter myself it is perfect, but such as it is, I hope with the improvements it will consequently receive that a more regular and uniform system of criminal and civil jurisdiction may be established in this country.

I am, my Lord, &c.

No. 468.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th January 1776.

THOMAS RUMBOLD, ESQ.

Dear Rumbold,

A message from you by Col. Morgan hurt me not a little. I send you this through my sister and you will learn from her it was not my friends who failed you upon your competition with my Lord Pigot.

Enclosed you will receive an address from William Barton to the Directors. He has unfortunately rendered himself obnoxious to Party, and I fear his connection with me has not a little conduced to his persecution. As you can be of great assistance to him by your influence and may prevent any injurious resolution to affect his fortune or his character, allow me most earnestly to entreat you to take him by the hand. The Company's Service is all his dependence, and if he loses it, he is irretrievably ruined.

I have known him from a child and never perceived in him the influence of a wrong bias. He is unhappily negligent and apt to place a blind reliance on Black servants under him in office. In this he is blameable, but the demerits of such servants because he might have been more circumspect in checking them fall too heavy upon his head when they are charged to him.

Candor will not be so severe, she may censure, but faults committed by others she will not acquit them of and translate to him, they are in a very distant relation, his by implication as possessing the power of prevention, but he had no apprehensions of abuse, and when it became known that those whose executive duty it was to be careful of the instrument had been negligent the remedy was beyond his power.

The emoluments of office sanctified by long prescription is another offence charged to Barton. This with some other circumstances are accumulated to present him in an odious light to the Company and are by him explained. You must be sensible that without some such advantages as he derived from his station it would not have been possible for him to have borne the expense he was necessarily subjected to, and as he never was an expensive man his present poverty will evince that instead of wronging the Company he has barely existed on their Service. However to render the Direction propitious to him he has given a bond to abide its decision, but of this I hope no advantage will be taken (a suitor for the Company's favour and do no less) for to claim partiality on the bond without fixing the Company's right to his emoluments will in fact be nothing less than the Company's mulcting of their servants because he is at their mercy, and instead of its being a decision on the merits of his case, will be simply putting a price on the Service. To be indigent and to have served the Company upwards of 14 years is surely a strong claim to their consideration. Excuse my pressing this so much upon you and be assured, I am etc.

No. 469.

CALCUTTA,

20th January 1776.

TO

MRS. MARY BARWELL,

My dear Sister,

I enclose you a letter for my Lord Sandwich of which you will get a copy taken and send the original to his Lordship. You will excuse my friend, Mr. Frederick Stewart, for my not writing to him. I really have not time, and as you submit to him every material information that I send it is needless. Mr. Vansittart has taken his passage for Europe on the *Hilborough*. You will unite with him as far as your judgment approves, and as I do not imagine he will ever be in competition with me should he seek to return to this country I wish you to assist him. His abilities (for he has abilities though a very strange fellow on his department) will be of great use to me here; and a union with his friends probably not less so in England. I am sure it is his

interest at present, and of course it must be his wish to be solicitous for my promotion.

I mentioned to you in some of my former letters how Mr. William Barton had been persecuted, his connection with me and the vexation I feel in consequence, has, I fear, not a little contributed to his prejudice. The cause of a man with whom I have so long lived on a footing of intimacy is mine. You must, therefore, my dear Friend, exert yourself on his behalf and avert, if possible, any injurious resolution of the Court of Directors against him. The Company's Service is all his dependence, and if he loses it, he is ruined. Whatever is or may be said to impeach his honesty in the execution of the trust he has held under the Company, his poverty is an irrefragable proof of his integrity. Appearances bear hard against him, but I am convinced and you may believe me, he has been a deluded not a dishonest man, and if the faults of people in office under him are accumulated on his head, of these candour should acquit him, though he cannot be held entirely blameless for his blind confidence in a parcel of Black villains whose demerits now fall heavy upon him. I enclose you his letter to the Directors and beg you will leave no expedient untried to preserve him. James Barton's friends will naturally assist you, but I know not whether he has had the foresight to advise his brother and obtain letters from him, whether he has or not, do you perform the office of a friend to my friend. Where my affections are strongly engaged, I cannot be indifferent. I give you a great deal of trouble, but the goodness of your heart operating with an attachment that renders you partial to me will readily plead my excuse and engage you to enter on my pursuits with alacrity and prosecute them with address and perseverance. Mr. Vansittart promised me faithfully to do whatever laid in his power to assist Barton and extricate him from his difficulties, Rumbold who is a Director was once Resident at Luckypore: he received the same emoluments as Barton and may consequently be inclined to favour him. If he does not, the Direction will, I hope, make no exceptions but call upon him as well as every other of Barton's predecessors. Impartiality demands that all or no one should be condemned for the official perquisites Barton is charged with and for which he has given a bond. Should it be resolved by the Directors to attempt to recover the perquisites taken by the different Residents his predecessors shall be established by the decision of the Law, and that the Company do not propose to claim partially from Mr. Barton on a bond given merely to evince his sense of duty and deference to his superiors, but on the ground of the Company's right to such perquisites if the Company have not this right, it would be unjust to claim on Mr. Barton's bond and acquit his predecessors. His submission to the Company entitles him to be treated with tenderness and not with a degree of severity which his predecessors do not

experience who have not the merit of his submission to plead in mitigation of their error.

I enclose you a letter I received from Mr. James Miller. Will you be so kind as to order the payments from the interest arising on the 500£ in your hands to be made in the manner requested by that letter?

I have not yet been able to settle with the executors of Mr. Middleton owing to the dishonest evasions of Mr. Chevallier touching the necessary securities, but I hope to finish an adjustment of the protested bills in time to advise you for the shipping of the season, that is, by some foreign conveyance if the *Talbot* from Bombay arrives not so soon as to admit of her being (in April) for Europe.

P. S.—I must request the favour of you to adjust the claim of Mrs. Hawkesworth for the books I send from the good Doctor entirely to her satisfaction. Mr. Cator has forwarded her the account. It is a rule with me never to cavil with friends for money when they form expectations with the least shadow of reason. You will, therefore, my dear Sister, settle with Mrs. Hawkesworth just in what manner she pleases.

No. 470.

CALCUTTA,

20th January 1776

To

ROBERT GREGORY, ESQ., RICHARD BECHER, ESQ., JOHN PURLING, ESQ.,
HENRY SAVAGE, ESQ.

Dear Sirs,

If on any occasion I may be troublesome and with earnestness solicit the exertion of your good offices, benevolence of mind is some excuse for the transgression. I am in a thousand fears and apprehensions for one of my oldest and most intimate acquaintances. He has unfortunately rendered himself obnoxious to Party, and his connection with me, I fear, has not a little conduced to his ill fortune. You may be of great assistance to him by your influence. You may prevent any injurious resolutions to affect his fortunes and his character, and are able to protect and bear him through his difficulties. The Company's Service is all his dependence, and if he loses it he is absolutely and irretrievably ruined. Appearances bear hard against him. Yet I am convinced he is rather an unhappy and deluded man than a dishonest one. I have, however, known him long from a child and never perceived in him the influence of a wrong bias, but unfortunately he is naturally negligent and prone to place a blind confidence on whatever Black servants are acting in office. In this he is certainly blameable, but the

demerits of such servants because he ought to have been more careful in checking them: fall too heavy on his head when they are made his. Candor will not be so severe; she may censure his unlimited reliance, but faults committed by others she will charge to those others and acquit him of the ill which is only his by implication because he did not prevent it; he had no suspicion: he apprehended it not and it was too late when he found the trust he reposed in those whose executive duty it was to be careful of the investment had been misplaced.

The emoluments of office at Luckypore which long prescription has sanctified is charged as an offence in Barton. This circumstance with others accumulated to make him obnoxious is explained in his address to the Directors which I take the liberty to enclose for your perusal. You must be sensible that without some such advantages as he derived in common with his predecessors in the Luckypore Station it was not possible for him to defray the unavoidable expense he necessarily incurred, but as his whole dependence is on the Service, in the hope of rendering the Directors favourable to him he has given a bond to abide their decision.

I wish the Directors may be pleased to allow of the long established emoluments. But should they be uninclined to pass them over and direct the recovery of them from the different Residents they will not, I hope, claim partially from Mr. Barton on a bond merely given to evince his sense of duty and submission to them, but direct the Company's right to be established against all who in the same station had the same advantages. Barton's submission pleads in mitigation of his practice authorised by example and long usage and recommends him to the consideration of his superiors. He will not then, I latter myself, be treated with a degree of severity. Those who preceded him may be exempted from and solely because his situation has made him a suitor to the Company. If the Company have a right that right may be fixed and claimed upon and all who have held the Luckypore Station be placed upon a impartial and equal footing. But to claim on Barton's bond without fixing the Company's right is in fact nothing less than the Company mulcting one of their servants because he is at their mercy and absolving others from whose example his offence if any has proceeded. This will not be deciding on the merits of his case in common with his predecessors. It will be simply putting a price on his continuance in the Service and obliging a man to purchase it who has already served the Company 14 years and whose real poverty has some claim to consideration. Mr. William Barton has never been an expensive man and his present indigence and consequent dependence on the Company is an incontestible proof that he could not have wronged them to his own benefit and that all he has been enabled by his employment

was merely to live by the Service. I will not encroach more on your time by further apologies. The anxiety I feel for a man I esteem will excuse me to you for my so pressingy urging you to give him your support.

No. 471.

To

CALCUTTA,

THOMAS RUMBOLD, ESQ.

The 20th January 1776.

Dear Rumbold,

You will receive from Mr. Killican the particulars of your concerns in this country. The Company's Treasury being shut to all loans, I have thought it consistent with your interest at the same time, I secure your property to give you some income from it, and as the only expedient by which these two purposes could be answered was upon mortgages ample and equivalent to the moneys advanced upon them, I flatter myself a part if not the greater part of your property will be made to yield you an interest, though it is but at the moderate rate of 5 per cent. Security being your first object and the income a secondary one, I must not to advance the latter lose sight of the first. In this I flatter myself with answering your wishes in each respect, for to have allowed your money to lay dead in the Treasury or in the hands of your acting attorney would have been not very considerate, while as good security and some interest could be got for it in the Settlement.

The scheme which was calculated to ensure the bond holders payment of their loans in England being frustrated by the discharge of the bonds, if you are unable to effect remittances this year I would recommend to you to appoint some agent at Bombay and lodge your cash in the Treasury of that Presidency. This will give you the Company's security and an interest of 8 per cent or 9. I know not which, but in determining this you must take into your view that Presidency's inability to discharge their notes as they become due and the possibility of discount in the disposal of them when you draw out your money.

I will not launch into political detail but leave you to the information of the Public Records and the different appeals made by the contending parties. It is astonishing what arts of misrepresentation have been made use of and with what address, not only to render Hastings odious but to reflect on the whole body of the Company's servants in the management of the Revenue from their first acquisition. It would be well for the Company if the majority pursued the interests confided to them with the same spirit of perseverance and industry as they are pleased to exert in calling and trying to prove all the servants of the Company rogues and rascals.

No. 472.

CALCUTTA,

TO WILLIAM LUSHINGTON, ESQ.

20th January 1776.

Dear Lushington,

I have received your letter of the 13th. The conduct of your friend will be known from the Public advices. You cannot well imagine the scene that has engrossed me. Never flew my time faster; I regret every minute, not on account of any enjoyment that passes with it, but because the day is not long enough to labour in, I thought I had seen much before, but faith the magnitude of the present objects, render all the villainy and oppression of past times venial sirs (*sic*). Dissimulation, falsehood, cunning with all the smiling train of unprincipled rascality stamp the pursuits of the present Government. Poor Bussent roy has been persecuted almost to ruin, because Commaulodeen Ally Cawn exposed the practices of Mr. Fowke an agent of the Majority for taking up the complaints, whether true or false, against the Governor. I have done all I can to obtain him justice, but such is the temper of disappointed men that he poor devil is pursued and the claim he has to the consideration of the Board though founded in equity, and the rights he holds under the Company's "potta" are not admitted. Commaul who is the offensive farmer of Hijlie is obliged to have recourse to another tribunal, the Supreme Judicature, for protection and has petitioned the court to grant an injunction and oblige the Committee of Revenue to verify the demands made on account of the farm, by stating against each article the rule, the precedent or article of the public lease on which the demand is made. I wish I had time to send you the papers, but it is not in my power. Let it suffice that the Company's just claim is about 30,000 rupees which Bussent roy is willing to pay, and that the Committee have by management swelled it by an imaginary valuation put upon the deficient salt to one hundred and twenty thousand. I exposed this in a public minute, they then reduced it to Rs. 90,000. I exposed this too and was joined by the Governor but without effect. I asked if the farmer held not under a "potta" similar to that of 1778. I asked for the rule of adjustment in that year. I asked for any precedents whatever in the course of twenty years to be produced from the Hughli accounts to authorise the demand proposed by the Committee. I asked in vain, it was arbitrarily continued as it was first made and a vexatious persecution of Commaul and Bussentroy is the result and will continue to be so until relief is obtained in equity where Commaul has applied.

I make no doubt it will astonish men extremely to hear with what open arms the Settlement in general and all classes of the Natives received the Judges. The violence of Party to which the Judicature at present is the sole barrier—in the protection it held out to all ranks of individuals—soon

conciliated all and has evinced the care of the Legislature in securing the common rights of mankind by an institution superior to the frowns of Power. How will gentlemen in England stand to be told that servants of the Company who are all deemed obnoxious to the Laws fly to the Laws to be protected against the violence of Party despotism and that a court instituted with no particular view to their protection, is the safe and only refuge they have from the injustice and resentments of men who were advanced to Power to administer just wisely and moderately a Government said to have been swayed hitherto by intemperate arbitrary maxims, but enough. The subject is unpleasant and too copious for the little time I have to give you.

A persecution has been set on foot against you in the Hijlie districts at the instance of General Clavering etc., etc. The mossfussil papers have been new modelled and twisted to your prejudice, and Messrs. John Sumner, Pye and Adair all three great ignorant puppies made the blinking instruments of bringing to the public eye inextricable accounts multiplying charges against you, although these papers are fallacious. Yet they are so managed as to asperse you in some degree spite of every thing I can do with the assistance of Bussentroy who will write you and explain matters. I have not heard from Harwood nor have I seen Bussentroy for these two or three last months. The balance of salt due from the Company General Clavering, Col. Monson, etc. have directed not to be delivered on the pretext that the utmost the merchants are entitled to is a return of their money with interest. This is unjust for the risk of the market was the merchants when they made the contract, and of course the profit and loss should be theirs. But it is in vain to reason with men who proceed on a uniform plan of opposition, and twist and turn every measure of the late Government, good indifferent or bad, to its prejudice. You must write me explicitly on this point if the Company approve the non-delivery of what may be the remaining balance of salt and order the merchants the return of their advances with interest in ready money. But in justice they will, I think, order the salt to be delivered and censure the Majority for having withheld it and subjected them to a heavy charge of interest. Clavering etc., have urged that there is some compact between the claimants and some servants of the company who purchased up these balances. Nothing can be more absurd. If an article was *bondfide* to be delivered by the Company on a contract how the Devil can the purchase of it be stated a compact. The creditors had the right of sale the Company is bound to fulfill their engagements and whoever pleased might purchase them up. You are as much interested in this matter as any man and will, I hope, exert yourself to obtain the justice that is due to you in common with many others.

Pray excuse me to R. Leycester, I have it not in my power to write

No. 473.

CALCUTTA,

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

27th March 1776.

I have now before me your letter of the 11, 14, and 15 April with one of June 1775 by the way of Aleppo. With respect to Mr. Miller I enclose you a duplicate of his first letter 17 of last January and an original one of the 10th instant. When this arrives with you, should you not have obtained from him an appointment to the Service, you will think no more of it. On the presumption of your not being able to get him nominated he consulted me on his future prospects and begged the favour of me to write to you on his money concerns. I promised him your care of them and desired he would just intimate to me by a line to whom he would have the growing interest paid and any part of the capital. I must in consequence beg your attention to his letters. As to any subsequent adjustment to be made with Mr. Miller you have only occasion to note it and leave it to me. I will take care of that, but as any disappointment may subject those to difficulties to whom he has directed payments you will be punctual, even though you should not have in your possession the monies supposed to have been received by you.

I mentioned to you in my letter of 23 November that I had bound myself to James to answer the minor's fortunes and I now send you a copy of the instrument as a rule for the adjustments subsequently necessary upon such instrument. Before James went hence I earnestly entreated him to give you all his weight in your pursuit of my interests, he promised me faithfully that as he neither had nor could have any view so dear to him as my success he should be happy to contribute to it by the utmost exertion of his powers and abilities, that it was very true he did not always see objects in the light they struck you, and for this, my dearest Friend, you must make some allowances without expressing any degree of ill humour when he appears opposite your wishes. Displeasure on difference of opinion generally fails of gaining the person we would persuade to adopt our sentiments at the same time that it gives an impression either of impatience or of self sufficiency. Of all that of influencing the human mind is least known, and when known to give it success requires our perfect acquaintance with characters, their passions, prejudices and affections. I will write to James about making Mr. Roberts his banker, though from what I know of James I apprehend he will not be easily led to place his money in the hands of any one on whom he may not have the most implicit reliance. James has a fondness for money, and this fondness operating with the instance of Sir G. Colebrooke's failure, I fear, will determine him to confide to his Quakers his present bankers.

On money matters Mr. Cator at my request has already addressed you

and leaves me nothing to say except on McLeane's bonds. These bonds by my former letters you will find have been in a manner adjusted, that is, he has given me a note for CRs. 40,471-6-0 and was to settle with you such points as I could; not close from my ignorance of them. I had no other object in this transaction than to disburthen you of McLeane's debt and to serve him. My motive is well-known to him, and as a man of honour if he is able, I daresay, he will answer any application you may make to him for the discharge of his debt, but I suspect him not to be in a capacity to do this, though I wish he may and shall esteem myself obliged to him if he does—obliged because he is not bound to make you the payment by the letter of the law and can only be impelled to it by a principle of honour, that may lead him to consult your convenience and mine, a principle strong enough if he has the means, and if he has not the means, the bond of a man whose success I wish and who, I flatter myself, will heartily engage in my pursuits, is no more to me than waste paper. You, it was proper, should not suffer, and therefore I took the debt upon myself.

On calculating the exchange of the China remittance I find it so low as not to be an object the Rupee not turning out two shillings and one penny. This has determined me to stint my negotiations for conveying money there to one lack of rupees. Yet low as the exchange is had I wanted to have sent more I should have been diffculted to have done it, so great is the anxiety of people to get money to England at any rate.

I find Mr. Mercer did not make any remittance through the China cash in the course of the last season, and consequently my hopes of your being able to discount his bond are vain. As Mr. Mercer is a man of property and is generally esteemed for integrity and fair dealing, I do imagine his debt will be punctually discharged, if it should not, you must take such measures as your lawyer may judge most effectual, and either request him, or do you yourself give me the particulars of the steps that may be taken, in order to my demanding security in this country if Mr. Mercer should be here. Mr. Mercer went again to China this season, and as he may from thence proceed with his effects to England you will make all the necessary enquiries after him when the China ships of the next season arrive, that is, the ships that will be dispatched from September 1776 to January 1777.

The certain remittances by this season's shipping are the Dutch bills for sicca rupees 25,700 or current rupees 2,98,120 and the bills on the English Company advised by Mr. Cator for £2400. The Dutch bills if I have not been imposed upon, you will have received cash for by the time this letter reaches you, and I hope they will turn out to you £30,000 or very little short of it.

As I am on the subject of remittances I must inform you that my new associates, Clavering, Monson and Francis have each contrived to keep splendid tables and equipages, and after disbursing the expense incidental to such trifling matters have remitted home the following bills each:—

1 Bill in February 1775	...	...	£3,300
1 " " March " "	...	...	£1,320
1 " " November " "	...	...	£7,000
1 " " March 1776	...	...	£2,400

Amount ... £14,020

These gentlemen came in October 1774. To March 1776 they had to receive 16 months' salary at £10,000 per annum is £13,333-6-8, and out of this they have managed each of them to send home £14,020. Yet they do not touch a present of any kind!

(To be continued.)

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